



Rec'd 29th Dec.

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

A MANIFESTO from the Emperor of the French equivalent to a declaration of war is daily expected; and whether our Government should think it necessary to go through the same form or not, the declarations of Ministers, coupled with the public proceedings, the language of the great body of the people, and the movement of troops, in which the Prince Consort has taken a conspicuous part, constitute an unconcealed state of warfare. A considerable portion of the troops have now embarked—the Guards at Southampton, another body at Liverpool, a third at Dublin; and others are under orders to rendezvous at Malta. Preparations for the second division of the contingent are already in progress.

Some questions have been put respecting the cavalry; for which apparently the preparations are less advanced than for other troops. The fact is, that at present, as we understand, there is no intention of sending out a large mounted force, but only sufficient to do the duty of videttes and escorts. The force will not at first exceed two regiments—the 8th, and the 9th Hussars.

The feeling that we have before noticed at once grows stronger and more universal in its expression. The soldiers may be said to exhibit more of the usual zeal than might have been expected from them. One instance is striking. Several corporals in the Scots Fusilier Guards, beyond the number required for the detachment sent abroad, made a request that they might be disrated, in order that they might go out as volunteers in the ranks. Officers show the same impatience, and the Horse Guards are overwhelmed with applications. The proceeding of Prince Albert, who inspected the Guards in parade in St. James's Park the day before their departure, coupled with the general order conveying his approbation and his good wishes to the men, identifies the Court with the national feeling. The popular sentiment breaks forth wherever the soldiers present themselves, especially at the points of embarkation. Municipal authorities press their hospitalities on departing officers. Recruiting for both services proceeds with great rapidity: a hundred are sent off in a body from Pembroke to serve in the new ships, just as a hundred men in a day join the army at Dublin: whether it is in Cork, Portsmouth, Shields, Aberdeenshire, or South Wales, the

spirit is exactly the same: it appears to be impossible to draw distinctions, and the facts which we have stated show that the feeling exists in all classes as well as places—in the working class as it does in the middle class, as in the wealthiest.

Exactly the same feeling appears in the House of Commons, and again this week a species of Opposition motion has called forth a new expression of unanimity. On the motion for going into a committee of supply, on Friday last week, as our readers are already aware, Mr. Layard made a grand survey of the blue books, for the purpose of showing that as Ministers had been vacillating in the past, they scarcely deserved confidence in the future. Mr. Disraeli hung back till the close of the debate; but Lord Palmerston reserved himself still more pertinaciously, to harass the rear of the Opposition leader. Mr. Disraeli made an advance beyond Mr. Layard; his object was to show that Ministers, who profess to believe in the peaceful and harmless intentions of Russia, must have known, by the long avowed policy of that Power, by the transparent duplicity of recent assurances, and by the military preparations in Russia, that the Czar intended something very like what came out when Prince Menschikoff went to Constantinople; and therefore, said Mr. Disraeli, Ministers have either been guilty of a credulity incredible in men so experienced, or of connivance. But Mr. Disraeli proved too much; if Ministers are such fools or such traitors, how can any man with a sense of duty to his country let them continue in office, or agree, as Mr. Disraeli did, to entrust them with any supplies they ask in order to carry on the war? It is evident that Mr. Disraeli failed to believe his own accusation, for he convicted himself of a complaisance to be explained only by the supposition that he also connived in the schemes of the traitors whom he denounced.

Mr. Cobden's speech formed an episode in the debate: he reiterated much of his peace doctrine; objecting to any war in support of Turks against Christians; declaring that he would be glad if Russia obtained Turkey, and positively advising Ministers to fall back upon the Vienna Note—the first Note, universally rejected! The speech would have been amusing, if it had not been painful, as a display of eccentricity which implies that the speaker is incapable of understanding the motives of honour and national justice, which call the English people to an exercise of their courage and strength.

But these small oppositions were fruitless; Lord John's manly declaration of a war to chastise injustice, and to arrest the enormous ambition of Russia, speaks the feeling not only of the House but of the entire English people; and if the party leader did not venture upon a division, if Mr. Cobden did not attempt to walk into the lobby, it was because the Peace man felt ashamed of the pettiness of his following, and because the Party man not only dreaded to show diminished numbers, but dared not brave the dislike which such a division would have entailed upon him and all who went with him.

Mr. Hume on a subsequent evening spoke the true feeling of the English people, when, departing from his ordinary parsimony, he declared that he approved of the increased vote, and avowed that a war to prevent injustice, was a just war, with "a good object." In following the course of the national feeling, however, we have been drawn prematurely into Parliament.

Nor did Mr. Hume flinch when the probability—the certainty of a large additional increase was inexorably presented to his view. In proposing the army estimates, last night, Mr. Sidney Herbert plainly declared that they were framed on the basis of a peace establishment, and that he should have to propose a supplemental estimate—a genuine war estimate. This also Mr. Hume approved; manfully accepting the consequences of his Wednesday's declaration. And still, we are convinced, he does but express the universal feeling of the country; for the morbid eccentricities, which appear to be "exceptions," are no more representatives even of sectional feeling than the inmates of Hanwell represent a party or an opinion.

Some other facts have to be stated regarding the war and our foreign relations. The proclamation issued by the Queen, to authorise the detention of military stores and marine engines by the Custom-house officers, was expected, and was necessary. Instructions have accompanied the proclamation, telling the Custom-house officers how they may permit the transmission of such goods, when it is clearly proved that they are intended for friendly states, and not directly or circuitously for the service of Russia. It is well known that this proclamation was not a *brutum fulmen*; it was urgent. Engines were about to be sent from this country for Russia; gunpowder also was on its way; and the export is ascribed to a highly liberal "party," who distinguished himself for his epistles in favour of National Defence, and who seems to think it no unpatriotic act to supply the enemies of his country with the means of shooting his countrymen.

Such are commercial morals, when they descend to test everything by the mere "higgling of the market." Observation, with its extensive view, surveying mankind from Cape Town to—Pegu, will find the same propensity in mere traders, who have been netting profits by sending gunpowder to Caffres or Cossacks. Luckily, however, England and her Government have other objects just now than those of commerce, and posterity will have cause to thank her for not consenting tamely to become the menial of the world, then to be sold as the slave of despotism. Queen Victoria's proclamation did not come a day too soon.

Napoleon III. has also been issuing his missives. His letter to the Czar, intended as much to show Europe and France how the writer washed his hands of the consequences of the war which Nicholas provokes, has called forth a contemptuous answer from that arrogant and doomed potentate. The *Moniteur* publishes an article, official in its character, declaring that those who try to disturb Governments in alliance with France will be regarded as opposed to the interests of that power, and that while the flag of Austria floats by that of France in the East, attempts cannot be permitted to separate the two on the Alps. The article tells three ways: it is a threat to Greece not to commit herself to Russian intrigues; a warning to Austria to keep her flag by the side of that of France; a hint to the Italians not to embarrass a friendly Government by premature movements.

Another State-paper—a Note by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, addressed to the French representative at the Courts of Saxony and Saxe-Coburg Gotha, contradicts reports that the King of the Belgians had attempted, in the interests of Russia, to divide France and England; avows the most friendly feeling on the part of the Emperor Napoleon to the Courts in question; and expresses his confidence in the loyalty of all branches of the Coburg family, with an especially affectionate allusion to the King of the Belgians, as by his age and experience the chief of that family.

We must revert to Parliament,—briefly, although it has been discussing other important subjects besides the East. The motion by Mr. Adderley, for the second reading of the Manchester and Salford Education Bill—an attempt, under the guise of a private measure, to swamp the secular educationists by forcing the scheme of Bishop Lee and his coadjutors in the Manchester and Salford Association upon the reluctant city,—was met by Mr. Milner Gibson, with a technical objection to the form of such a proceeding, and with a substantial objection to the sectarian element still lurking in the scheme. Ministers agreed as to the informality, and the Bill was thrown out. In the brief discussion, it clearly came out that the difficulties of agreeing upon a scheme were likely at present to be insuperable.

The Scotch Education Bill, introduced by the Lord Advocate, is another test of the practicability of any general plan: the Scotch peremptorily call on Government to settle differences which they cannot settle among themselves; but no sooner is the measure explained, than out fly a swarm of Scotch hinted objections.

The conduct of Heads of Houses at Oxford has been ludicrous. They appear, just as Government is about to remodel their University, to have started up to the idea that reform is really coming; and, unable to prevent it, they suddenly concoct a scheme to keep things virtually as they are, call it a "reform," and put it into a petition to Government, asking Government to non-reform them in the manner proposed! Government replies that the petition cannot be granted. Lord Derby advises the Heads, nevertheless, to proceed, to get a majority in Convocation in support of the petition, and so to go into Parliament with something like a case. In order to carry out this suggestion, still acting under the advice of the Chancellor, the lost Heads endeavour to keep Government's refusal secret, and so to get from Convocation, the sanction for a scheme already damned. The story, however, had got wind, and from what passed in Parliament on Thursday, it is evident that Government continues to disregard the Oxford trick, and to go on with its own scheme, no doubt comprising an elective "Caput"—whether with a Congregation also, remains yet to be seen. Oxford, however, is obstinate, and it is expected that if the Government Bill be liberal the turned Heads will get up petitions against every important clause. Those doomed Heads indeed feel that behind this minor question of constitution loom

the tremendous ecclesiastical questions, the very name of which is dreaded.

The majority of the independent Liberal Members have taken some pains to come to an understanding on the subject of the Reform Bill, and their conclusion appears to us to be praiseworthy. At a meeting convened by Mr. Hume, while the freest expression was given to objections on particular points, it was resolved to support the measure as a whole, and so to seek amendment as not to endanger the entire bill. Exactly the same disposition was shown at a numerous and important meeting of the council of the National Reform Association, where Sir Joshua Walmsley, Mr. W. J. Fox, Mr. Le Blond, and other gentlemen, expressed anxiety that the extended franchise which the measure would confer should not be endangered by the endeavour to procure alteration on points of detail. It appears to be generally agreed to support the second reading, and in the manner of seeking specific amendments to avoid risking the fate of the whole. Mr. Bright, however, we understand, declares himself a dissident. As a man of peace, no doubt, he resists half measures and distrusts concessions. Cheap is the valour of the man whose flag is "All or none" at home, and "Peace at any price" abroad. Yet, on the whole, it is satisfactory to see how the disposition to come to an agreement on things that can be done to improve our position, internally or externally, is extending under the impulse of a more stirring time. It may be said that sectional feelings are merging in the national. Ideas of popular progress, theoretical notions of systematic re-organisation, ultra-Conservative mistrust of the people, ultra-Whiggish reliance in traditional compromises, ultra-official tricks to evade public measures by pretended concessions, appear to be yielding to the general disposition to do justice all round; and, in lieu of being Whigs, Tories, Radicals, or Democrats, we seem to have become, at least for the time, English.

Possibly we may ascribe to that better spirit the disposition shown in Lancashire—slowly enough, no doubt—to let the quarrel about wages die away. At present the masters are doing more than the men in the way of concession, and the number of mills at work is increased. Trade generally continues sound, not materially interrupted by warlike proceedings; nor will it need to be so at all, we fully believe, unless our Government should make the deplorable mistake of embroiling us with some great maritime nation at present friendly.

The extended movement to improve the dwellings of the industrious classes is one of the modes in which the wealthier classes may serve those who are poor, pending larger questions of national enfranchisement. Next to letting the working class legislate for themselves, the best thing is to legislate in their interest, or to act for their benefit. To let improvement of towns be improved comfort for the poor, to free industry and partnership from restrictions now maintained on behalf of capital, to make a beginning in the direct representation of the working class—are proceedings which will not only somewhat stay the appetite for larger measures, but will powerfully contribute to soften the shock of the change when the day shall come—and we trust that it is not far distant—for giving to the working classes their full right without stint, abatement, or qualification.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

The first debate on the Eastern question in the House of Commons was brought to a close, on Monday, without any division or the formal record of any opinion whatever. Last week, the stirring sentences that closed the speech of Lord John Russell had cut the ground from under the feet of the regular orators; but, of course, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Disraeli would have their say. Lord John, on that occasion, only consented to adjourn the debate on receiving the spontaneous promise from Mr. Disraeli that no opposition would be given to the votes of men demanded of the House.

The retrospective talk being thus adjourned, and the business also standing over, Monday night came, and Mr. Cobden rose at the outset to make a speech. He declared that he wanted to know the object of the war, and the means of carrying it out; for himself, he was ignorant of both. To ascertain them, he set out upon a long examination of the despatches, and he arrived at these conclusions, that the war arose out of a quarrel about the holy places between Russia and France, and that we were going to fight, not like the hero whose statue is in Palace-yard, for the Christian against the Mussulman, but for the Mussulman against the Christian. Ministers had brought on the war by not permitting

Turkey to sign the Vienna note. Having settled these matters to his satisfaction, Mr. Cobden set about proving from the despatches that the Christians in Turkey are dreadfully oppressed, and that they are on the verge of revolt. Last year Lord Palmerston had said, that during the past thirty years Turkey had made more progress in internal improvement than any other country during the same period. Would he abide by that opinion now? Why, in his instructions to Lord Stratford, Lord Clarendon admitted that though war might cripple Russia, Turkey would be irretrievably ruined. What, said Mr. Cobden, the country that has made such progress during the last thirty years! And with this Power, "in danger of internal dissolution," according to Lord Clarendon, England is asked to form an alliance, "or to use a commercial simile—to enter into partnership." Why, the grievances of the Christians are driving them to open rebellion. They are sure to get the upper hand. Would it not have been better for us to have taken sides with the Christians, and so have prevented war. If the Christians had votes now, they would all be for the policy of the Czar. Mr. Cobden vindicated his views on the ground that they were democratic. The Turkish Government, he said, does not represent the population of Turkey.

Another aim of Mr. Cobden's speech was to show that the exports of Russia to Great Britain and Ireland are more valuable than those of Turkey. For this purpose he took, not the official returns, but estimates made by trustworthy persons. They set down the value of Russian exports at 13,020,000, of which a part was for grease to make our locomotives go, and a part for linseed used in manufactures. If there were war certain districts would suffer great distress.

Mr. Cobden seemed hurt that Lord John Russell should have styled the Emperor of Russia—"the common disturber of the peace"—why all Europe, except France and England, is neutral. Is it our mission to fight the battle of Cossackism. Why are not Austria and Prussia on the alert, if there be all this danger from Russia? Mr. Cobden protested against sending soldiers, and insisted that we ought to fight with our navy alone. There is no party in this country who will hesitate to join in a war of justice. But Mr. Cobden thinks that the best thing we can do is to fall back upon the Vienna note, to which he sees no objection—a proposition met by shouts of derisive laughter.

The debate was continued by Lord John Manners and Mr. Horsman, who both agreed to repudiate the views of Mr. Cobden with energy; but who differed as to the past conduct of Ministers; the former condemning, the latter approving of that conduct. Ministers, Mr. Horsman truly observed, have but to speak as men rather than diplomats, and the country will cordially support them.

Here Mr. Drummond enacted a vigorous interlude with his usual quaint humour. He found that the author of the mischief from the very beginning is the Pope; that we are going to war whether the milliner shall come from Paris or St. Petersburg to dress the idols at Jerusalem; and that the war is a religious war. He aptly said that Mr. Cobden would save a world of trouble if he would perform his promise and crumple up Russia now. Mr. Drummond, with singular logic, concluded, by telling Ministers that if they were determined to go to war to support the infidel Turk, to "go where glory waits them"—to strike a blow at the heart of Russia, and, at least, re-establish the Kingdom of Poland. (Cheers.)

Mr. ISAAC BUTT defended the Turks, and found fault both with Mr. Cobden and Ministers. Judged by their acts, and not by their professions, he said the Christians would be found on the right bank of the Danube. Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT stopped the gap in the debate, on behalf of the Government, happily remarking, in allusion to the attacks from Mr. Cobden and Lord John Manners, that Government was between two fires. One party said they had arrived too tardily at the right place, but that they had taken the wrong road; another party said that they had taken the right road at first, but had now arrived at the wrong place. But both declined to test the merits of their arguments by a formal appeal to the House.

Mr. DISRAELI now entered the arena, and made a long and ingenious speech, to show that the policy of Ministers has been that either of credulity or connivance. He reviewed the whole course of the transactions, to show that Ministers had sought a settlement of the affair by a connivance with the Emperor of Russia. Upon the hypothesis of credulity he could account for nothing; upon that of connivance all was clear. From the moment when Lord Clarendon acceded to office, he had shown a bias in favour of Russia. Mr. Disraeli made out that the demands of Russia were wrong; but he laboured hard to show that Ministers were, from the outset, fully aware of the whole scope of the demands made by Menschikoff. He hinted that the assurances said to have been received from the Emperor of Russia were not in existence, telling the House over and over again that they had not been produced. He tried his utmost to fix on Lord Clarendon complicity

with Russia in the construction of the Vienna note; and he insisted that Lord Clarendon had more than hinted that the Porte should grant the Russian demands. He thus put his two alternatives—

"If the conduct of her Majesty's Government during the last seven months has been influenced by credulity, it is possible you may have a war—a long and a severe war; but it will be a war carried on for great objects, and may end in great public benefit. (Cheers.) Russia, by her perfidious conduct—if it has been perfidious—may have precipitated a struggle which, perhaps, will be inevitable, and a struggle which may secure the independence of Europe, the safety of England, and the safety of civilisation. (Cheers.) You may have a war, which, as some hon. gentlemen say, may restore Bessarabia to the Porte—you may have a war, which will convert Crimea into an independent country—you may have a war that may make the Danube a free country—and you may have a war that will make the Euxine a free sea. (Cheers.) But all this is dependent upon the somewhat humiliating but pardonable circumstance—comparatively pardonable circumstance—that the conduct of her Majesty's Government has been the consequence of credulity. (Laughter.) And let us for a moment contemplate the results of the other alternative. If it has been suggested by connivance, you may have a war; but it will be a war such as will be carried on by connivance—a timorous war, a vacillating war—a war with no results, or rather with the exact results which were originally intended." (Laughter.)

Mr. Disraeli, in looking to the future, made an amusing attack both on Sir James Graham and Lord John Russell.

"The First Lord of the Admiralty has given us a catalogue—although an imperfect one—of some of the advantages that we now enjoy, which otherwise we might not have possessed, to meet the difficulties that we have to encounter. In the first place I am glad to hear from the right hon. gentleman that though the Government have not done much in the interval they have succeeded in cementing a good understanding and alliance with France. (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman ought to be a judge of the importance of such an alliance. (Ironical cheers from the Opposition.) About a year ago an alliance with France was not in such favour on the Treasury benches. I remember it was imputed as a great fault to my noble friend, the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that he was too fond of an alliance with France; and when I remember the calumny, the vituperation, and the ignorant impertinence with which Lord Malmesbury was assailed from the first moment of his official career, and contrast it with the state of public opinion at the present moment as one who was a colleague of that noble lord, and is still happily his friend, I rejoice at what has occurred. (Cheers.) Events have shown, and the public recognise it now, that he was a man of sagacity, and a Minister of unswerving firmness. (Cheers from the Opposition.) But, Sir, this time last year the French alliance, since so happily cemented by her Majesty's Ministers, was not so much in vogue as at present. Far be it from me to allude to past debates, nor should I do so had I not found, to my great surprise, that so discreet and experienced a Minister as the leader of this House had thought it expedient that this year our discussions should be enlivened by abuse of another Emperor. (Cheers and laughter.) Last year the Emperor of the French was a pirate—(Laughter)—this year the Emperor of Russia is a butcher. (Loud cheers from the Opposition, and laughter.) After the trial of Dr. Saxeveirel, Sir Robert Walpole said the Whigs had had quite enough of roasting a parson. (Laughter.) I think I may say to her Majesty's Ministers that they have had quite enough of roasting an Emperor—(Renewed laughter), and I should not be surprised, if the impending war should be shorter than some persons imagine, if by this time next year the Ministers should, in the interval, have succeeded in cementing a peace with Russia. (Cheers and laughter.) What the character of the Emperor may be then I cannot pretend to say, but I have no doubt the First Lord of the Admiralty will do justice to him." (Laughter.)

In conclusion Mr. Disraeli spoke for the opposition in this grandiose fashion:—

"On Friday night, when I made some observations, the noble lord stated that my observations were important because I rose with the concurrence and indeed by the request of the gentlemen who usually act with me, to say that we proposed to offer no opposition to the vote which the noble lord wished to have passed. The noble lord was pleased to say that this was an important declaration. I confess I was surprised at the somewhat exaggerated view which the noble lord took of those simple words; for whatever may be the opinion that we may entertain of the conduct of the government in these transactions, which have led to such terrible results, we thought there could not be any duty but that we should feel it to be our duty to support the Sovereign and to maintain the honour of this country. I can assure the noble lord that so long as the Opposition benches are filled as they now are, he will be encountered by men who do not despair under any circumstances of the resources or the fortunes of their country. The noble lord possesses much historical knowledge, and great experience of this House; and the noble lord must, I fear, have drawn an inference with regard to the conduct of those gentlemen who now compose the Opposition, from that of other and preceding Oppositions. I do not know whether it is an effort of memory or of remorse on the part of the noble lord—(“Hear, hear,” and cheers)—but this I can answer for myself, and for those friends who act with me, that no future Wellesley on the banks of the Danube will have to leave a bitter record of an Opposition who depreciated his efforts and ridiculed his talents. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We shall remember what we believe to be our duty; and, although in opposition, however protracted may be the war, or however unfortunate your councils, we shall never despair of the country.” (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

Lord PALMERSTON appeared as the antagonist of Mr. Disraeli, and the vindicator of Ministers. Ad-

mitting the right of the House to be informed upon their conduct and to express its opinion, he declared that he never had expected to hear from any Member, accusations like those put forward by Mr. Disraeli. Had Lord Palmerston felt that a Government was justly chargeable with credulity or connivance, he should feel there could be no other course open to him than to withhold from that Government the confidence of Parliament. He defended the Government:—

"We are accused of credulity; I say, that the despatches in these volumes justify us in having for a considerable period reposed confidence in the assertions of the Russian Government. The right hon. gentleman has accused my noble friend, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, of having misled Parliament, on the 25th of April, by declaring, at that time, that the Russian Government asked for nothing but the settlement of the question of the holy places, whereas, says the right hon. gentleman, at that very time Prince Menschikoff had left Constantinople, and the English Government knew perfectly well that he had been urging a certain treaty on the Porte. What are the facts? Prince Menschikoff did not leave Constantinople till the 22nd of May; and, as to the latest declaration which, on the 25th of April Lord Clarendon had received from the Russian authorities, its date was the 28th of March, on which day, in reply to a question from Sir Hamilton Seymour, whether the settlement of the question as to the holy places would arrange everything between Russia and Turkey, Count Nesselrode with his own lips assured him that it would, and that nothing thereafter would remain to be settled between the two Powers but some petty points connected with the Chancery, wholly unimportant and unessential. That statement was repeated on the 30th of April, when Count Nesselrode declared most positively to Sir Hamilton Seymour that the arrangement which was negotiating at Constantinople contained nothing beyond that which had been already made known to the British Minister at St. Petersburg, and by the Russian Minister at the Court of St. James's to the English Government. Sir, when such positive assertions as these are made by the Government of a great country like Russia, I say that the Government to which they are made is entitled to place confidence in them. It is said, that we heard of military preparations on the part of Russia, and we ought to have inferred from this, that some other demands were on foot. We were told by the Russian Government itself that such preparations were making, but we were also told by the Russian Government that their sole object was to counteract the menacing language which had been used by France, and that they bore solely and entirely on the question of the Holy Places. We were told also, it is quite true, that Russia required some proof of confidence, as well as some reparation from Turkey, for offences which she had committed in connexion with the changes that had been made in the question of the Holy Places, and that the security was to be in the form of a treaty confirming the Sultan's firmans for the settlement of that question. But we had never any intimation that any such treaty was to apply to other matters. When, therefore, Count Nesselrode asserted, at a later period, that our Government had known from the outset what were the whole demands of Russia upon Turkey, he asserted that—I am bound to say it—which was utterly at variance with the fact. It is painful to speak of a Government like Russia in terms of censure or reprobation, but I am bound to say, on behalf of the English Government that the Russian Government, by itself and its agents, has throughout these transactions, exhausted every modification of untruth, concealment and evasion, and ended with assertions of positive falsehood. I ask, however, has anything been lost by the forbearance with which the Government has conducted this question? I say, that if in the last summer a course had been taken by us which would have brought matters then to the point at which they now are—if we had found ourselves in June or July last on the point of a rupture with Russia—our position would not have been such as it is now.

There were a great many reasons why forbearance was desirable. It was of the greatest importance, in a matter affecting the great interests of Europe, that, though England and France have been from the outset acting together, heartily, entirely, and cordially, they should endeavour to obtain also the concurrence of Austria and Prussia. We know that these two countries have interests in this matter far more direct than those of England and France. To Prussia and Austria it is a matter of vital existence, because if Russia were either to appropriate any large portion of Turkish territory, or even to reduce Turkey to the condition of a state merely dependent upon Russia, it is manifest—no man can doubt who casts a glance at the map of Europe, and looks at the geographical position of those two Powers with regard to Russia and Turkey—that such an immense appropriation of geographical power on the part of Russia must be fatal to the independent action of Austria and Prussia. Well, it was of great importance to get these two Powers with us, as far as it was possible to obtain their counsel and advice; but neither of them could be expected to risk lightly a rupture with their great and powerful neighbour. The reasons which might lead Prussia not to wish to risk such a rupture—the reasons, I would rather say, why those who wished well to Prussia—her well-meaning allies—would not have wished to press her forward singly, are obvious to any man who looks at the map of Europe. Austria, we know, was under great obligations to Russia. It was natural that she should be unwilling to break with Russia as long as it was possible that matters could be arranged by any amicable adjustment; and if Austria, seeing that England and France were hurrying matters on, and precipitating a war, when she (Austria) thought that by more forbearance, by her influence at St. Petersburg, and by diplomacy, negotiations might have been carried on and war avoided, England and France, under those circumstances, would not have been entitled to expect her active co-operation in the war. It was, therefore, of great importance to avail ourselves as much as we could of that influence which Austria possessed, or imagined she possessed, at the Court of St. Petersburg, and to convince Austria that we consulted her position as well as

our own, and that we were willing to give every possible opportunity for an amicable settlement of the difference, if by any means it could be effected. I believe I am not overstating the facts when I say that the conduct of England and of France in this respect has been fully appreciated by Austria and Prussia; and that, whereas, if war had been entered into and carried on in the course of last summer, we might have had no reason and right to expect their co-operation—I cannot persuade myself but that, if matters go on to the point they are likely to go to, the conduct of Austria and Prussia will be different now to what it would have been under those different circumstances."

Meeting Mr. Cobden's challenge, he repeated that great improvements had been made. Turkey, it is said, is not worth defending, because the Christian subjects of the Sultan are not in all respects placed upon a footing of equality with the Mussulman.

"But, Sir, if the fact of any race in a country being upon a footing of civil and political inequality is any justification for considering that country as undeserving of independent political existence, what would have been said by the hon. member for the West Riding, if he had lived not very long ago, when there prevailed that penal code in Ireland, which placed our Catholic fellow subjects on a much worse footing than that on which the Christian subjects of the Porte now stand. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I fancy that in those days, when this country produced many men eminent in all matters of literature and science, they would have been very much surprised if they had been told that they were a set of barbarians, and deserved to be conquered by France in order that the Catholics should be put upon the same footing as the Protestants in this country. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, I say then, that the condition of the Christians is no reason whatever why, upon great political grounds, this country and France—ay, and Austria and Prussia too—should not combine to maintain the Turkish empire in its present geographical position. (Cheers.) I believe that the internal progress which has commenced in Turkey will be continued, and that the Christian and Mussulman subjects will be placed on the same footing of equality."

Estimating the relative forces to be engaged in the contest he declared that the power of Russia for aggression has been overrated. On the other hand, the Turks have replied with spirit to the call of the Sultan.

"The Turkish forces may be deficient in officers, but it is evident that Omar Pasha has conducted the campaign in a manner which evinces great military talent. My opinion is that any one great Power like England or France, possessing such naval and military resources, could, if it took up the cause of Turkey, bring the quarrel to a successful issue; but when those two countries combined take up the cause, I maintain that the chance of the Emperor of Russia is entirely desperate. We are entitled to expect that, if the war should continue, Austria and Prussia will not remain passive spectators. They will feel it due to themselves to take some part in the contest, for, if they do not, Austria must have indeed forgotten all her established policy, and must be ignorant of all her own interests; and the same is the case with Prussia. I therefore say that, with England and France acting as supporters of Turkey, with the opinion of the whole of Europe opposed to the Emperor of Russia, who will have not a single ally to support him in his career of injustice, I have no doubt as to what must be the result. It is a noble sight to see England and France, two countries which have long been in rivalry with each other, united in a course of action (loud cheers), bound by a reciprocal engagement to seek no territorial advantage for themselves, but standing forth in defence, not of their own interest and welfare alone, but in behalf of the interests of Europe. It is a worthy sight to see those fleets and armies which have hitherto met in deadly contest ranged side by side in perfect amity, not armed for the purpose of conquest, but armed in a noble and generous cause, to defend right against might. I am willing to lay the case of the Government before the country and before Parliament, convinced that the people of this country will be satisfied that we have not recklessly and without cause involved them in a war of which I do not wish to underrate the consequences, but which I think will be a very different war from all others in which this country has ever been involved. I feel no hesitation in applying to the country for assistance to enable me to carry on with vigour the contest in which we may be engaged; and I say that if it be the opinion of the people of this country or of Parliament that we have shown weakness and credulity or the infamy of connivance, let them take the conduct of the war from the hands of a Government incompetent to carry it on, and place it in the hands of those in whose ability, judgment, and sagacity they can place greater reliance." (Loud cheers.)

This wound up the debate. It was nearly two o'clock, and there was only time to take the vote of the Navy estimates without any statement from Sir James Graham.

[The votes were, that 53,500 men and boys be granted for the service of the ensuing year; 2,192,691*l.* for the wages of seamen and marines; and 870,324*l.* for victuals.]

When the report of Supply was brought up, on Wednesday, some of the members who had found no place on the great nights gave utterance to their opinions on the conduct of Ministers with respect to the negotiations. Mr. HUXLE led the way; and made, indeed, the speech of the brief debate; of course it derives its importance from his position as a financial reformer. He said he could not allow this occasion to pass without stating that it was the first time since he had been in Parliament that he had not taken part in the question of voting the number of men (hear, hear). He had abstained from taking his usual course by the peculiar circumstances in which the country was now placed. He was one of those

who thought that the Government, so far from being blamed for having exhausted every means of maintaining peace, deserved the thanks of their country for the proper alarm they had evinced on this trying occasion at the horrors and expense of war. (*Cheers*). Not only the present, but the former Government of Lord John Russell, and also the intervening one, had done everything in their power to keep aloof from the quarrel between the Latin and Greek churches, whilst they had all along shown an anxious desire to conclude the dispute between Russia and Turkey. The Government had been very much deceived by placing confidence in Russia, though he could not blame the Government for placing confidence in the statements, oral and written, made by the agents of Russia, in the recent negotiations; but he had no hesitation in saying they had been deceived. The shame, however, was not with them, but with those by whom they had been deceived.

The gradual encroachments of Russia have become dangerous to the liberties of mankind. It was on that ground that he considered the Government compelled to take the course they had done. Considering that we were situated on the very verge of the western continent of Europe, that our commerce pervaded the whole world, and that the liberties of mankind might be said to depend to a great extent on the liberty of England, he did not think the Government were to blame for the anxiety they had manifested in this matter. The increase that had taken place in the votes of 13,000 men on this occasion was moderate in his opinion, considering the emergency; and he was happy to think that the expense was less in proportion to the numerical increase of the men than he had apprehended, which was owing, no doubt, to the laudable anxiety on the part of the Government to economise the expenditure. He thought, therefore, the measures set on foot by the Government to stay the encroachments of Russia on the liberties of mankind had been conceived and executed in the best and most economical manner.

"I hope the Government will show more confidence and good feeling, and good sense, in future, by placing more trust in the people, and that, in future, such correspondence will not be concealed as may enable us to know what our Government is doing, and that we shall not be obliged to have recourse to the newspapers of foreign countries for that information which is withheld from us by our own Government. I do not think the people of England have been fairly treated in this matter, and I hope such a course will not be again pursued towards them by any Government, and that they will be treated with frankness and confidence, and not with distrust and suspicion. The people are willing to repose a generous confidence in the Government, that they are so disposed has been exemplified in a most extraordinary degree. I never expected that I should live to see the day which has now arrived, when the people of England stand up as one man to vindicate the conduct of the Government in support of the oppressed—in support of the Turk—whose very name was for years a word of reproach. See the spirit which has animated the public meetings that have been held on this question—see the determination that has been evinced to prevent the powerful State from crushing and overwhelming the weaker—see the people coming forward evincing those generous feelings which Englishmen have always entertained—their desire to help the oppressed and prevent injustice. (*Cheers*.) Sir, I thought right to say these few words in explanation of my intention to give a hearty support to the Government on this question." (*Long and prolonged cheers, in which Lord Palmerston joined.*)

Mr. MONCKTON MILNES expressed a hope that the health and comfort of the men would be looked after. Government, he said, had suffered severely for withholding information.

Here Sir HENRY WILLOUGHBY and Sir DE LACY EVANS engaged in a dispute on the merits of the question, the former attaching, the latter defending Ministers, but advancing nothing new.

Lord PALMERSTON explained to Mr. Milnes; first that Government had not withheld the papers from a distrust of Parliament or the people, but simply because the premature publication of unfinished negotiations tends to defeat the chance of a successful issue; secondly as to the care of the troops.

"I can assure my hon. friend and the house that that subject is one which above all things attracts the attention and employs the care of her Majesty's Government—and not now only, but always—though it does so more especially now, considering the distance and the quarter to which the troops are going, and the service on which they are to be employed. Every care has been taken to provide for their health and comfort, and to guard them against those inconveniences which may result from various casualties arising from private causes or otherwise; and those friends and relations whom they leave at home may be satisfied that nothing shall be omitted which it is possible for the Government to supply in that respect. It is a peculiar feature of the British service, that greater care is taken of the health and comfort of British troops than of the troops of any other nation in the world; and although that may be attended with some increase of expense, and may at first sight render the British army more costly than the armies of other countries are, yet when the expense comes to be measured by the result, I think it will be found that our army is the cheapest that can be; and I will venture to say that if you take two armies of equal numbers—say 40,000 or 50,000 British, and a like number of the soldiers of any other country—you will find that, owing to the greater care that is taken of their health

and comfort, and to the greater attention paid to the feeding, clothing, and medical attendance of the British troops—I say you will find that a British army, 40,000 strong, will put an infinitely greater number of men in the rank on the day of action in the field of battle than any other army in the civilised world. This is one of the reasons—and I may say it without any national vanity—this is one of the main reasons of the great efficiency of British troops in comparison with the numbers employed."

Mr. MUNTZ thought the question might have been settled sooner had Ministers acted with vigour when the Russians threatened the Pruth. But being in the war, we must act like Englishmen, and get out of it as well as we can.

The report was agreed to.

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.

The LORD ADVOCATE moved for leave to bring in a bill "to make further provision for the education of the people of Scotland, and to amend the laws relating thereto."

Enlarging on the necessity for education, he said, one would imagine that, with the means ready to their hands, and a hearty good will in the cause, the teaching of the people of this country ought to be one of the simplest and easiest tasks of the Legislature. Even regarding the subject as a mere matter of philanthropy and benevolence, men of all parties ought to waive minor differences in an attempt to rescue their countrymen from that ignorance which was as bad as the worst of creeds. But the question was no longer one either of duty or of philanthropy. It had now resolved itself into a simple consideration of self-defence. The question forced itself on their attention with an importunity and an urgency which would brook no denial, when it was remembered that with all our extending commerce—with all the expansion of our civil privileges—with all the wealth of our cities—there was growing up in the very heart of our great towns, and at the very root of our social system, a savage and barbarous race, tied to us by none of the ordinary sympathies which held social communities together, possessing the energies and the passions, as well as the nerves and sinews, of their forefathers, but with those energies untamed by any humanising influences, and those passions unrestrained by any knowledge of their duty either to God or to man. Anybody who was conversant with the statistics of crime from week to week in this country could not but be aware that this was a plain, simple, and authentic statement; and unless the Legislature would deal with it in this conviction, they would find out their error when too late. It was time that something should be done for the remedy of an evil which was fraught with dishonour to our national character, for in the ignorance and brutality of certain classes of our people there was gathering a flood of dark and pestilential waters, which, if not now restrained, would one day burst their channels and inundate society.

"He then set forth the provisions of the bill. In the first place, the remuneration awarded the schoolmasters was entirely inadequate to their respectable maintenance. It was inadequate and totally disproportionate with the importance of the duties they performed. In former times, the schoolmasters were maintained by a rate upon the heritors of land, which rate was in proportion to the price of grain. It was not proposed to relieve the heritors from the burden imposed upon them by the Act of 1828; on the contrary it was intended that they should still be called upon to contribute henceforward to the full extent of the ancient *maximum*, 34*l.*, but that the salary of every parochial schoolmaster should be raised to 50*l.* a year, the remaining 16*l.* being defrayed by the Privy Council out of funds to be allocated by Parliament for that purpose. Under the present system the schoolmasters had no retiring allowance, but the Government now proposed that on being superannuated they should enjoy an allowance of at least 25*l.* a year: one-half to be paid by the heritors and the other half by the Privy Council. The bill also contemplated some advantageous alteration in the matter of house accommodation, for whereas by the Act of 1828 the schoolmaster had only two rooms, it was to be provided that for the future he should have at least three rooms. But these improvements in the condition of the schoolmaster should, of course, be accompanied with additional regulations with respect to superintendence, inspection, and the mode of appointment. In the first place, the Government did not intend to limit the heritors' choice of a schoolmaster by the restrictions which now existed, nor to confine the office exclusively to members of the Established Church of Scotland. It was provided that henceforward it should not be necessary for the parochial schoolmaster to subscribe any test or any confession of faith, nor to pledge himself to any particular formula. In the preamble of the bill it was set forth that, "Whereas instruction in the principles of religious knowledge and the reading of the Holy Scriptures is consistent with the opinions of the great body of the people; but at the same time ordinary school instruction shall be provided for children of all denominations." It was then provided that every committee shall appoint stated hours for religious instruction, but the children shall not be bound to attend it if their parents object. Where an inspector shall report the necessity of an additional school in any district, and if the board shall be of opinion that that report is well founded, they shall intimate the same to the town council, who shall have the power to assess the borough; and the magistrates and town council shall form the school committee. In country parishes the same proceeding shall take place, excepting that the ratepayers of the parish shall have the power of deciding whether the school shall be founded or not. It was proposed that these schools should be supported in this way: one-half

of the salaries was to be paid by the ratepayers, and the other half was to be contributed from the funds voted by Parliament. The management of the schools in boroughs would be placed in the hands of the town council—a body popularly elected, and therefore representing the opinion of the community, and subject to public control. The management of schools in the country was proposed to be placed in the hands of a committee, one-half elected by the heritors, and the other half by the ratepayers—the general board to have the right of nominating three members, and the clergyman of the parish to be *ex officio* a member. The constitution of the general board was now the only part of the subject to which he had not referred. He proposed to make that board partly official, consisting of the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General, and to add to them five delegates from the universities of Scotland, and three or five more by the nomination of the Crown. The third portion of this bill was a part to which he attached very general importance. How it might be received by the House and the country he did not know, but it seemed to him, in our present circumstances, to be a most essential part of any national system; because the wants of education were not always counterbalanced by the abundance of means in the same locality. The poorest localities were generally the most ignorant, so that education was most required where the funds requisite were least to be had, and that operated as a serious bar to the denominational system. It was therefore proposed, that a general educational rate be imposed, not exceeding one penny in the pound over the whole of the valuation of Scotland, to be administered by the general board. And as to the application of that fund, it was intended, in the first place, to be applicable to the establishment and sustenance of educational reformatory schools, which he thought would be found a great boon to Scotland, if they could have a certain safe fund provided for that purpose. But any exertions in that direction, to be productive and efficient, must be commensurate with the necessity which exists, and the desirableness of checking crime; and in his opinion a rate was the most available means to that end, and certainly very justifiable as the application of it to the diminution of crime and the expense, with all the incidental evils, which crime entailed upon society. In the second place, this fund would be applicable to the power of the parishes whenever additional schools were required in the country, or the rate in burghs went beyond a certain per centage. And lastly, this fund in the hands of the general board would be applicable for the subvention of denominational schools not included under this bill, provided that it were reported of them that they were useful and had submitted to the regulations of the board and the Privy Council."

After some discussion, favourable on the whole, but eliciting Tory objections to the abolition of the test, leave was given to bring in the bill.

EDUCATION.—There was a dull debate, but probably a real struggle of parties in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, respecting the Manchester and Salford Education Bill. It had been brought in as a private bill, and its object was to enable the ratepayers of Manchester and Salford to levy compulsory rates on themselves for the purpose of making the existing denominational schools free. The bill came on for second reading about six o'clock, and the discussion extended until nearly twelve. Mr. ADDERLEY moved the second reading, defending the bill, and throwing back the objection that it was a private bill upon Lord John Russell, who might have brought in a general measure and prevented local legislation. It was not disguised from the House by the advocates of the bill that they wished to commit the House to its principle as a model for a general system.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON met the motion by an amendment: "That education to be supported by public rates, ought not to be dealt with at present by any private bill." He was taunted with interposing a technical objection; but it was obvious the objection was sound. Lord JOHN RUSSELL supported Mr. Gibson, and left the House. Without mentioning all the speakers, we may point out that the motion was supported by Sir John Pakington and Mr. Wilson Patten, and opposed by Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley. Of course Mr. Bright stood by Mr. Gibson, but Mr. Miall and Mr. Peto put in a plea for the voluntary system. Thus there were three parties, irrespective of the Government's position, which, through Lord John Russell, condemned both the bill and the secular plan, and stood by the existing system, despairing of an uniform plan. The House went to a division in this perplexed state, and threw out the bill by 105 to 76. The amendment was carried without a division.

UNIVERSITY REFORM.—Mr. BLACKETT asked Lord John Russell whether the proposed scheme of the constitution for the University of Oxford, which had appeared in the newspapers, had been submitted to the Government; and if so, whether the Government had sanctioned it?

Lord J. RUSSELL.—"Let me first say, in answer to the question of the hon. gentleman, that I think the Hellenod Board at Oxford deserve credit for the pains they have taken to expound a scheme of the constitution of the University of Oxford; but with respect to the petition to which the hon. gentleman alludes, I have to say that the Government, having taken the proposed constitution into their consideration, feel it to be their duty to dissent; and my noble friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department has signified to the authorities at the university that the Government could not advise her Majesty to assent to that petition for granting licenses in the mode proposed."

Mr. WALPOLE inquired whether the correspondence between the Government and the university on this subject would be laid upon the table? Lord J. RUSSELL replied in the affirmative. Mr. WALPOLE asked if the correspondence would be on the table before the measure was brought under the notice of the House for discussion? Lord J. RUSSELL—Yes.

Subsequently, in the House of Peers, Lord DERRY said, Government had thought fit to announce their dissent from the proposition about to be made by the University of Oxford for its own reform, and had thus, by anticipation, condemned that scheme; and therefore he wished to know whether they would give the governing body of the univer-

sity an opportunity of considering the scheme which they themselves proposed before submitting it to Parliament? The Earl of ABERDEEN, in reply, declined to pledge the Government to lay their scheme before the governing body of the University of Oxford before submitting it to Parliament, the more especially as Convocation was not a body which could deliberate, having only the power of saying "Yes" or "No" to it.

Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN.—Mr. BRAMISH asked whether there was any truth in the report that it was intended to extend her Majesty's pardon to Mr. W. Smith O'Brien?

Lord PALMERSTON.—The matter to which my honourable friend has alluded has been for some time under the consideration of her Majesty's Government. "The facts appear to be, that some of those who were transported with Mr. Smith O'Brien have thought fit to break parole, and have escaped from the place at which they were detained. Now Mr. Smith O'Brien, whatever may be his other faults, or whatever his guilt, has in this matter acted like a gentleman—(loud cheers)—and has not taken advantage of opportunities, of which, had he been so disposed, he might have availed himself. It is, therefore, the intention of the Government to advise the Crown, by an act of clemency, to extend to Mr. Smith O'Brien the means of placing himself in the same situation as those who have liberated themselves by a violation of faith." (Prolonged cheering.)

MISCELLANEOUS.—The Earl of CARDIGAN asked the Government whether they did not intend to take advantage of the facilities offered by steam navigation to transport the cavalry of the expedition about to be sent to the seat of war, as well as the other branches of the service? He understood that sailing vessels were being taken up for this purpose. The Duke of NEWCASTLE said it had been found impossible to obtain a sufficient amount of steam tonnage for the purpose, without deranging the different mail and packet services of the country. At the same time he eulogised the readiness with which the companies had come forward, at great inconvenience to themselves, to the assistance of the Government. It was hoped, however, that the sailing transports to be employed might be towed by steamers, and thus the evil would, in some degree, be palliated.

The Earl of DESART inquired from the noble duke the Colonial Secretary whether an arrangement had not been recently made for the withdrawal of troops from the smaller West India islands? The Duke of NEWCASTLE replied that the troops had been withdrawn from four of the smaller islands. The reasons for it were partly of a military and partly of a pecuniary character; but the arrangements had been made for the concentration of troops in such a manner as to secure the efficient protection of the islands in question. The measures adopted in respect to these islands were part of a general system of policy which was applicable now to all our colonial possessions.

On the motion of Mr. GROGAN, a select committee has been appointed to inquire into the state of the Dublin hospitals; and on the motion of Mr. OLIVEIRA, a committee has been appointed to consider the state of the metropolitan bridges.

COMMITTEE ON COMPLAINT OF BREACH OF PRIVILEGES.

This committee has sat this week. At a meeting, on Thursday, Mr. Harrison, the printer of the *Times*, was called, and produced to the committee copies of the *Times* and of the *Freeman's Journal* containing the articles and charges complained of. Mr. Kelly, solicitor, was afterwards examined for about half an hour by various members of the committee, and we are enabled to state that the tenor of his evidence was very decidedly in support of the truth of the charges made by himself and Dr. Gray, and not at all the contrary, as many had anticipated. Dr. Gray being at present at Louth, the committee, after complimenting Mr. Kelly on the straightforward and manly way in which he had given his evidence, adjourned to Tuesday next, at 1 o'clock.

THE LIBERAL MEMBERS AND THE REFORM BILL.

THE MEETING OF THE LIBERAL MEMBERS.

A LARGE and influential meeting of the friends of Reform, convened by Mr. Hume, was held in Committee-room No. 12, on Tuesday, in order to consider what line of policy should be adopted with reference to the bill now before Parliament for amending the representation of the country. A very considerable number of members obeyed the summons of the veteran reformer, and amongst others the following hon. gentlemen were present:—Mr. Hume, Mr. W. Williams, Sir Joshua Walsley, Sir J. V. Shelley, Lord Goderich, Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, Mr. W. Brown, Mr. Keating, Captain Scobell, Mr. C. Forster, Mr. Hadfield, Mr. M. Williams (Cornwall), Mr. W. A. Wilkinson, Mr. Biggs, Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. Roberts, the Hon. A. Kinnaird, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Hastie (Glasgow), Mr. Phinn, Mr. Langton, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Vivian, Mr. Russell, Sir James Anderson, Mr. Crook, Mr. W. M. E. Milner, Mr. M. Sullivan, Mr. B. Wilcox, Mr. Butler, Mr. Cowan, Mr. L. Heyworth, Mr. Heywood, the Hon. H. Berkeley (Bristol), Mr. Thornely, Sir Henry Davie, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Loftus Bland, Mr. John Ball (Carlton), Mr. J. G. Phillimore, Mr. Lee, Mr. J. B. Smith, Mr. Apsley Pellatt, Mr. Francis Scully, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Alcock, &c. &c.

Mr. Hume, on taking the chair at half-past one o'clock, explained to the meeting the reasons which had induced him to call them together. He thought

it desirable that the advocates of reform should have an opportunity of consulting together with respect to the course that ought to be taken by them with respect to the bill recently laid before Parliament and the country on the subject of the representation of the people. No doubt the scheme possessed many faulty details; but, for his own part, he should recommend the Liberal party, even if they should be unable to procure those modifications which seemed to them desirable, to support it as a whole rather than run any risk of endangering the bill by insisting too pertinaciously upon what they conceived would be improvements. To the best of his judgment, it was a large and comprehensive measure, and he entertained not the slightest doubt that if it should become law, it would be of great service to the cause of reform.

A very long discussion then commenced with respect to the provisions of Lord John Russell's bill, the merits of which were frankly admitted, while the more questionable portions were minutely criticised. Many objections were taken to several of its details; but the greatest stress was laid upon what was termed the minority clause, which was strenuously opposed by many of the honourable gentlemen present. Another point in which the bill was also strongly felt to require alteration were the provisions regulating the franchise by the "rating." It was considered that the word should be altered to "rental," both as regarded the town and the country voters; and it was also thought that the period of residence required of the 6l. householders in boroughs to entitle them to the franchise was very long. Some hon. gentlemen present complained that the metropolitan boroughs had not received their fair share of attention, and expressed a strong opinion that they were entitled to a larger proportion of new seats in the redistribution of the public representation. Much disappointment was also felt that a measure professing to reform the mode of returning members to the House of Commons should contain no mention whatever of the ballot.

With respect to the new franchises and the contemplated disfranchisements, the universal feeling was one of entire satisfaction; and all present agreed to support both proposals—both of them calling forth a strong expression of approval. The probable results of Lord John Russell's measures were discussed at some length, and there was some diversity of opinion as to the extent to which the constituencies of the country were likely to be enlarged. On this point several members expressed a confident opinion, founded upon letters received from their own constituents and other persons who had a practical acquaintance with the different localities, to the effect that the increase would in many boroughs be equal to one-third of the present number of voters. The probable increase of the county constituencies by the enfranchisement of the 10l. householders had been shown by the returns recently moved for by Sir J. Walsley to be about 400,000, exclusive of those who would also be placed upon the registers by the other new county qualifications.

On the whole, therefore, it was unanimously resolved, after a discussion of three hours, to support the second reading of the bill; and it was agreed that another meeting should be held for the purpose of considering what steps should be taken with regard to the minority clause, respecting which a strong feeling prevailed.

The meeting adjourned at a few minutes before the Speaker's bell rang for prayers.

THE WAR PREFACE.

Is a Treasury Minute, issued to the Commissioners of Customs, they are informed that the Proclamation hereto annexed "has been" issued, and the provision of the law referred to put in operation, from its having become known to the Government that extensive shipments of warlike stores were in the course of being shipped to Russian ports, and that other shipments were contemplated of a like kind."

The Proclamation is as follows:—

Victoria R.

Whereas by the Customs Consolidation Act, 1853, section 150, certain goods may, by proclamation or order of her Majesty in Council, be prohibited either to be exported or carried coastwise; and whereas we, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, deem it expedient and necessary to prohibit the goods hereinafter mentioned, either to be exported or carried coastwise; we, by and with the advice aforesaid, do hereby order and direct, that from and after the date hereof, all arms, ammunition and gunpowder, military and naval stores, and the following articles, being articles which we have judged capable of being converted into, or made useful in increasing the quantity of, military or naval stores; that is to say, marine-engines, screw-propellers, paddle-wheels, cylinders, cranks, shafts, boilers, tubes for boilers, boiler-plates, fire-bars, and every article, or any other component part of an engine or boiler, or any article whatsoever which is, can, or may become applicable for the manufacture of marine machinery, shall be, and the same are, hereby prohibited either to

be exported from the United Kingdom, or carried coastwise.

Given at our Court, in Buckingham Palace, this 18th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1854, and in the seventeenth year of our reign.

God save the Queen.

Mr. Wilson, the Secretary of the Treasury, who signs the Minute, lays down some limitations of the scope of the Proclamation.

"I am, however, to state, that while my Lords are determined to take every means in their power to prevent such shipments being made, either directly or indirectly, to countries where they are likely to be used either against her Majesty's forces or those of her Majesty's allies, they are, nevertheless, extremely anxious that the necessary restrictions to which they are obliged to resort should as little as possible interfere with the large and important trade connected with the manufacture of such goods when of a legitimate kind.

"My Lords are therefore pleased to desire that, in promulgating the said proclamation to the various ports of the United Kingdom, you will instruct the chief officers of every port that, while my Lords are desirous that their strict attention shall be given to all cases of shipment of such goods as are included in the proclamation, in order to prevent the nefarious traffic which it is their Lordships' earnest wish to stop, yet that in all cases where satisfactory proof is given that such goods are really destined to other markets and ports than those of Russia, by the production of correspondence or otherwise, taking into consideration the character of the persons and the nature of their usual trade, they will allow such goods and the vessels containing them to be cleared in the usual way; and that, especially with regard to such goods as it is proposed to carry coastwise in a regular and established trade, every facility shall be afforded consistent with the object in view. And, in order that this part of the trade may be put upon as safe and uniform a footing as the circumstances will admit, my Lords desire that every such ship carrying such goods coastwise shall be furnished with a special transire at the port of shipment, setting forth the quantity and nature of such goods, which shall be delivered to the collector of the port of destination on the arrival of the ship, and who shall certify to the officers of the port of shipment the due arrival and discharge of such goods.

"I am, in conclusion, to add, that it is with regret that my Lords feel it to be their duty to impose any restriction whatever upon trade, but they are confident that all respectable traders will willingly submit to the small additional trouble which these regulations will impose upon legitimate and fair trade, when the object is to prevent, by all the means in their power, unprincipled persons from contributing, through our own arms and manufactures, arms and ammunition to be used against her Majesty's forces or those of her allies."

Under this proclamation a quantity of gunpowder, intended for exportation and for delivery to the enemies of England, has already been seized. It is earnestly hoped that all persons having any knowledge of intended exportations of gunpowder will immediately communicate with the police or the Home Office.

The captains and owners of Russian merchant vessels at present in British ports have taken alarm at the prospect of war between England and Russia, and are disposing of their vessels as speedily as possible. A good looking Finnish vessel, the *Hopet*, has been sold to Shields owners for 2700l. She will be in command of an Englishman, Mr. Turpin, and her crew (Finns) to a man have resolved to stand by her, and join the English service. During the past two or three days four or five more Russian vessels in the Tyne have been transferred to London owners. The two iron steam-ships building in the Tyne, ostensibly for a Russian owner, really for the government of that country, are proceeding with. In the present state of the country they will never leave the Tyne. The letter from the Admiralty addressed to Mr. James Mather, of South Shields, intimating that the Government have no intention to engage the press-gang or the ballot in furnishing men for the fleet, but to trust to volunteers to make up the complement, has given the greatest satisfaction to the North Country seamen.

THE BRITISH WAR CONTINGENT EMBARKS.

THE DEPARTURE FROM LONDON.

We are now arrived at a definite stage of our preparations for war. One scene is at an end. The British war contingent has embarked.

The march of the Guards from London has been one of the striking incidents of the week. Nor was their inspection on Monday much less remarkable. At eleven o'clock on that day the 1st battalion of the Fusiliers and the 3rd of the Grenadier Guards were reviewed at the Wellington Barracks by Prince Albert, previous to their departure for the Mediterranean. He was attended by the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Hardinge, and a numerous suite. The Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary accompanied the staff in their tour of inspection. The troops were drawn up in open columns of companies on the parade-ground in front of the barracks, and the review was witnessed by an unusual concourse of the aristocracy and military men. Beyond the usual defile, no evolutions were performed, and the whole ceremonial would have deserved no particular notice but for the circumstances under which it took place, and its intimate connexion with the thoughts which are at the present moment stirring the hearts of all. The excitement and the anticipation of active service visibly extended through the ranks. Nor were the spectators indifferent witnesses of the scene before them. Thoughts of what war might

do with these stately battalions could hardly be avoided on an occasion of the kind; yet at least it was satisfactory to feel that the honour of the country was confided to their keeping. As the Grenadiers returned to their quarters at St. George's Barracks, they were followed by thousands eager to have a good look at them before they embarked. After the inspection the following Brigade order was issued:—

"The Field-officer in Brigade Waiting has received the commands of his Royal Highness Prince Albert to express to the officers and men of the 34 battalion of Grenadier Guards, and of the 1st battalion Scots Fusilier Guards, the pleasure and gratification which their splendid and soldier-like appearance gave him when these battalions paraded this morning; and to assure them at the same time that his Royal Highness's most cordial good wishes will constantly attend them in the service abroad on which they are about to proceed."

But London saw a more magnificent spectacle, on Wednesday; and it was well described in the *Times* of the following morning:—

"It was a need a strange sight that London saw yesterday, scarcely imaginable by quiet citizens, and very different from what we picture to ourselves when we read of armies. We said 'yesterday,' but it was long before dawn; the stars still shone above, and the lamps flared below. For hours several thousand people of all ranks had occupied what Peel called the finest site in Europe, looking intently to an opening which most Londoners imagine to lead only to the ground floor of the National Gallery, but which, in fact, is the south entrance of St. George's Barracks behind that building. For those hours all that could be seen was the gleam of a solitary bayonet passing to and fro, and all that could be heard was the clock striking from the tower of the neighbouring church. The multitude were tolerably patient, but decidedly loyal, and finding, by repeated but desultory experiments, that it availed but little to call for the Grenadiers before they chose to come, they sang the National Anthem and 'Rule Britannia,' not with much precision, perhaps, but with a body of sound which must have filled the whole space down to Whitehall. The self-constituted orchestra found its own applause, and cheered long and lustily, with or without special reason. At length the darkness under the portal became faintly relieved by the glitter of brass instruments, indicating that the band had taken its place, and the regiment was formed within. Soon after five, with a crash of music, the band emerged, to the immense delight of the multitude, and marched straight towards the Strand, where it took up its station. After the pause of a minute came the famous Grenadiers. If any one of the many thousand unwelcome spectators expected to see them emerge solemnly and slowly, with an unbroken column of bayonets and lofty fur caps, he must have been strangely disappointed, for they rushed forth without order from the narrow portal—that a few yards west of the portico—and ran, or rather bounded, down the descent towards the pavement. It seemed as if every man, on reaching the street, was cheered afresh by the multitude which received him, and in which he was sure to see some friend. But, continuing their pace, they ran with a running escort of friends and noisy admirers to join the column in the Strand till the whole had emerged. When formed, the regiment, about a thousand strong, and just showing their bayonets and black fur caps above the heads of a vast multitude which filled the Strand, marched over Waterloo-bridge to the station. The incessant cheering, the music, and occasionally the wild but hearty chorus of the mob, soon brought the sleepers to their windows, and many a strange figure was seen waving and shouting a farewell through the dusk. It was still dark, the light was still that of the lamps, and a stranger suddenly roused from his bed to look down on the scene might have dreamt of the French Revolution and its nocturnal horrors. As our reporters tell us, the Grenadiers marched, thus escorted, to the Waterloo station, and were there welcomed by fresh thousands."

The battalions arrived at the Waterloo station shortly before six o'clock. Here the best possible arrangements had been made for their reception by the authorities of the South-Western Railway. Very little time was lost in arranging themselves in the carriages provided for their transport, and at half-past six o'clock the first division, of 500 men, with the proper complement of officers, and about a dozen soldiers' wives, left the station, under the conduct of Mr. Godson, superintendent of the railway. Whether out of respect to the *entente cordiale* so happily existing between this country and France, or by a fortuitous accident, we don't pretend to say—but, curiously enough, the engine propelling the train was driven by a French engine-driver, yelet François Harmont, assisted by a sturdy British stoker rejoicing in the name of Rouse.

THE EMBARKATION AT SOUTHAMPTON.

At Southampton all was bustle and excitement at a very early hour. The three ships destined to leave the port were the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's ships *Ripon* and *Manilla*, and the Royal Mail Company's steam-ship *Orinoco*. These three vessels were each lying alongside the quays of the magnificent docks which have elevated Southampton from the position of little more than a fishing village to one of the most important ports in the empire. The morning was beautifully fine; and at seven o'clock the scene presented by these fine ships, all "taut and trim," ready for the important service in which they were about to be engaged, was one of the most magnificent spectacles the mind can conceive. The *Leviathan Himalaya* was also lying in the docks, with a fleet of other smaller steam-ships—all adding interest and importance to the occasion.

The service of each of the three first-named ships had been thus arranged. The battalion of Coldstreams, which has been lying at Chichester since last week, were to be conveyed in the *Orinoco*, one of the finest, though, for some unexplained cause, not the most popular, ships of the Royal Mail Fleet. The Grenadiers, from London, were to sail in the *Ripon* and the *Manilla*, the latter a new screw steamer, which has not yet made a voyage, but of which, if report speaks truly, great things are expected as to speed, the ship being fitted with a Boomerang propeller. The *Orinoco* is a magnificent paddle-wheel steam-ship, with ample accommodation for the number of troops destined to be conveyed in her. The space between decks is nearly eight feet; and both on the upper and lower deck a grenadier, with his bearskin shako, can walk with ease without stooping. The main saloon of this ship has been cleared of its ordinary furniture, and fitted up for the accommodation of troops, of whom upwards of 900 are housed on board, without crowding or difficulty. The officers will mess in the ladies' saloon, where ample room for their number is afforded. The *Orinoco* is commanded by Captain Wilson. The *Ripon* is a very fine paddle-wheel ship, replete with every convenience for the transport of troops. She is smaller than the *Orinoco*, and as it would not have been possible to berth comfortably the whole of the Grenadier battalion, a few companies were drafted for conveyance in the *Manilla*. This arrangement has enabled the *Ripon* to preserve her main saloon for the officers' mess, and without doubt she was the most desirable ship of the three transports destined to leave Southampton. Her gallant commander, Captain Moresby, is a brother of Admiral Moresby, who at present has the command in the Pacific. The *Manilla*, as already stated, is a new ship. She is intended for the transport of coals for the Peninsular Company's service between Labuan and Singapore, and it is said she will carry 900 tons of that valuable mineral and fuel sufficient for the voyage, with engines rated at less than 70 horse-power.

The 2nd battalion of the Coldstreams and the 3rd of the Grenadier Guards embarked in these ships. The former arrived from Chichester at half-past eight in the morning, and at once went quietly on board the *Orinoco*, where, after a few hours, they appeared to settle down into a tolerable state of order and comfort. Though the last to go on board, the Grenadiers were the first to leave the dock, and, what with their journey from town, the excitement of leave-taking, and the short time given them, they had hardly accommodated themselves to their new quarters when they got under steam. The *Manilla* led the way about two o'clock, having 250 rank and file of the Grenadiers, and six officers, with a large quantity of baggage and stores on board. Soon after three, the *Ripon*, paddle-wheel steamer, followed, having on board 600 rank and file of the Grenadiers, 28 to 32 officers, and 32 women. Last of all, and detained for more than two hours later by the want of water in the dock, the *Orinoco* took her departure with 854 rank and file of the Coldstreams, 28 to 32 officers, and 32 women. She had also on board of her Colonel Bentinck, Colonel Eyre, and their respective staffs. As the ships passed out of dock, the crowds that lined the quays rent the air with their cheers, and which were returned again and again, with thrilling effect, by the soldiers. Any one who has watched a bee-hive in a state of violent internal commotion, and will suppose the hive a steamer and the bees soldiers, will have a very tolerable idea of the scene which the different decks of the *Orinoco*, *Ripon*, and *Manilla* presented for several hours. Not that there was the least ill-temper displayed, but every one was looking out for himself without knowing precisely how. Officers and men were all in the highest spirits, and leave-taking, although protracted by the former in many instances almost to the last moment, seemed to throw no damp over the general excitement. The whole scene was a mingled and confused one, through which the general impression of a remarkable event being in progress could, nevertheless, be more or less distinctly caught. As, one by one, the steamers slowly hauled out of the basin, their decks crowded with soldiers, the responsive cheers which they sent back to the land told pretty clearly what it all meant. The three steamers remained in Southampton Water that night, and only proceeded on their voyage the next morning—a judicious arrangement, by which the men are initiated into shipboard life before being called upon to pay tribute to Neptune.

It is alleged that the sea god is more exacting in this particular with soldiers than with any other class of landmen; and though the two battalions embarked on Wednesday looked cheerful and high-hearted enough, it may be questioned whether they are not at the present moment succumbing to an influence the power of which the Emperor Nicholas may well envy.

AT LIVERPOOL.

The Twenty-eighth left Liverpool also on Wednesday; and the spirit which burst out at Southampton was clearly visible there. It is described as an un-

precedented spectacle in the history of the town. The people turned out to meet the regiment coming from Preston, and from the station the troops marched to the Exchange.

"Though," says an eye-witness, "the distance from the station to the Exchange flags is trifling, its passage occupied some time, owing to the thoroughfares being almost choked up by the multitude. The windows along the route were occupied; and every elevation which afforded facilities for adventurous gazers was covered with human beings. In 'Change-street two extensive heaps of square sets and several cotton-laden lorries were thus appropriated; and as the troops filed past cheer after cheer burst from the occupants. The Exchange flags were speedily reached, and here a grand spectacle was presented. A closely packed mass of people were wedged beneath the piazzas; each side of the capacious square was occupied by the troops formed in double line; the Nelson memorial formed a picturesque centre object; while from the Town-hall balconies and windows fair faces smiled and cambric handkerchiefs fluttered. Lieut. Colonel Adams and the commissioned officers were invited by the mayor (Mr. J. B. Lloyd) into the Town-hall, where they hurriedly partook of his hospitality. In a few minutes the troops were again formed in marching order, the band struck up a martial air, and the progress to the landing-stage was continued. The windows on each side of Castle-street were thronged with ladies. The vast concourse of people lined the piers north and south of the stage, blocked up its approaches, took possession of the old burial-ground of St. Nicholas, crowded the landing-stage, and appeared to take forcible occupation of the river steamers. The roofs of the waiting-rooms on the landing-stage, and of the salt-water baths at St. George's pier were also made available; while the drivers of cabs and lorries reaped an abundant harvest by converting their vehicles into movable platforms."

The troops were embarked in Cunard tenders and barges, at the landing-stage for the *Niagara*, riding at anchor in the Sloyne. As the tenders, with the barges alongside, slipped their moorings, and steamed steadily towards the *Niagara*, each filled from bow to stern with soldiers, cheers, repeatedly demanded "for the gallant 28th," were given with right good-will, the troops waving their hats and echoing the "hurrahs."

AT DUBLIN.

Before 7 o'clock on Wednesday morning the 50th (Queen's Own) embarked on board steamer at the Northwall for Kingstown, there to await the arrival of the *Cambria*, from Liverpool. The 33d (the Duke of Wellington's) left Dublin for embarkation at Kingstown. A sudden order from the Horse Guards arrived in Cork on Saturday, directing Major Dalton, four officers, and 250 rank and file of the 49th Regiment, in that garrison, to prepare for embarkation to join the service companies at Malta.

THE ARTILLERY.

The carbine rifles for Minié balls have been sent out to the batteries under orders for foreign service. Instead of a bayonet, the gunner is supplied with a sword about two feet long, exclusive of the brass handle, which he carries in a neat and well-finished steel scabbard. By a contrivance in the brass handle of the sword, it can be attached to the carbine to serve as a bayonet, and the two form a weapon of defence, by that arrangement, of 5 feet 6 inches in length. The sword has a double edge about 8 inches from the point, and must prove a powerful instrument of war in the hands of an active soldier. The carbine is to be strapped to the ammunition-wagon, so as to be always ready for the protection of their guns, should the enemy come to close quarters. The pouch is a very great improvement on the former cumbersome and awkward hip-pouch of the service, which was very annoying to the men when bouncing up and down as they mounted and dismounted from their seats on the limbers. The new pouch, although in appearance remarkably small, is made to contain 30 rounds of cartridges, and rests, like those used by the Rifle Brigade, in the hollow of the back, to which it is kept quite close and well-adjusted by the belt passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The belt is what may be termed of the natural colour of the leather, and the last vestige and great annoyance of piecypace is now banished from the Artillery branch of the land forces of her Majesty.

We shall soon hear now of the preparations for the 2nd division, and embarkation of the guns and cavalry.

The medical stores requisite have been provided partly from Apothecaries'-hall, and partly from the well-known firm of Savory and Sons, in New Bond-street. The latter have supplied 12 large medicine chests and 30 panniers, to be carried on mules and donkeys, and neatly packed with every description of medical and surgical appliances. Among the items included are 1000 lb. of lint, 1000 lb. of tow, 200 old sheets, and 1000 yards of adhesive plaster. It took four waggons to convey Messrs. Savory's part of the medical stores to the Tower.

THE GUESTS OF AMERICA.

We quote the following from the morning journals of Wednesday. We believe it is quite accurate:—

"Yesterday a dinner took place at the house of the American consul, Mr. Saunders, Weymouth-street, Portland-place, at which, amongst other guests, there were:—His Excellency the American Ambassador to this country; the American Vice-Consul; Mazzini, Kossuth, Ledra Rollin, Arnold Ruge, Herzen (the wealthy Russian émigré), Worcell (the Pole), Garibaldi, Felice Orsini, and Sir Joshua Walsley, M.P."

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The *Moniteur* has contained two important documents this week. The first is the announcement of the Emperor of Russia's unfavourable reply to Louis Napoleon's last appeal:—

"We announced yesterday that the Emperor had received an answer from St. Petersburg. The Czar, in his letter to the Emperor, discusses the conditions of arrangement which had been proposed to him, and declares that he cannot enter into negotiation except on the bases which he has made known. This reply leaves no more chance of a pacific solution, and France must prepare to support, by the most efficient means, the cause the triumph of which the persevering efforts of diplomacy have not been able to ensure. In defending more energetically the rights of Turkey, the Emperor reckons on the patriotism of the country, on the intimate alliance of England, and on the sympathies of the Governments of Germany. These Governments have constantly declared that they were determined, as resolutely as we are, to maintain the balance of power of Europe, and to cause the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire to be respected. There is no other question involved in the discussion. Public attention is turned towards Austria, whom her position calls on to play an active and important part. Austria has always declared, with great firmness, in favour of the points which have been set forth in the protocol of the conference of Vienna of the 5th of December last. We have every confidence in the highly honourable and chivalrous character of the young Emperor of Austria; we find, besides, a guarantee for the dispositions of his Government in the interests of his people—interests which are identical with our own. In the general circumstances of European policy, France, strong in her honourable and disinterested intentions, has nothing to fear from the struggle which is about to take place. She knows, besides, that she can reckon on the energy as well as on the prudence of the Emperor."

The second document is an official declaration as to the attitude of France towards Austria, in the event of Austrian adhesion to the Western alliance against Russia. It also takes the form of an anti-revolutionary manifesto, for the purpose of reassuring the "interests" of which a revolutionary war is the bugbear. Above all, however, it may be considered as a courteous menace to Austria of the consequences of her defection from the Western Powers. It will be remarked with what an affected consideration it speaks of the revolutionary party: dispensing with the customary jargon of calumnious insults, and the cant about "order" and "society," it affects almost a paternal air of deprecation and mild remonstrance:—

"In publishing the documents relative to the Eastern question, the Government has given a fresh proof of its good faith and the sincerity of its intentions. The power which is founded on the national will, and the motives of which are only suggested by the honour and interest of France, cannot pursue that tortuous system of policy the sole strength of which consists in intrigue and mystery. The power with which the Government is armed consists of sincerity and candour. Thus the Government cannot be prejudiced by any light thrown upon its proceedings, and it cannot, therefore, allow any opportunity to escape of elucidating any equivocal point, and of warning all of what they have to hope or fear. In the struggle which has taken place in the East, France, closely allied with England, declared herself in favour of the cause of right—of that cause which is the cause of all Europe. The independence of all States would be menaced if Europe were to allow Russian influence to be indefinitely extended. This truth is apparent to all. Austria, in spite of the intimate ties of friendship which connected her with the Court of Russia, is every day more and more disposed to adopt the policy which we defend; and Prussia, we doubt not, will frame her policy in accordance with the wishes and the interest of the whole of Germany. Thus this conflict, in which it may be said that all the powers of the continent are openly or tacitly engaged against Russia, would not present any danger if there were not reasons to fear complications arising from the spirit of revolution which may, perhaps, show itself on this occasion upon several points. It is, therefore, the imperative duty of the Government to declare frankly and in good faith to those who wish to profit by present circumstances to excite disturbances, whether in Greece or in Italy, that by so doing they will place themselves in direct opposition to the interests of France. The French Government will never adopt a double-faced policy, and thus, while defending the integrity of the Ottoman empire at Constantinople, it cannot suffer that integrity to be violated by aggressive acts from Greece, nor can it, while the flags of France and Austria are united in the East, allow any attempt to be made to separate them upon the Alps."

The *Gotha Gazette* publishes the following despatch sent by M. Drouyn de Lhuys to the French chargé d'affaires at Dresden, relative to the visit of Prince Napoleon to Brussels:—"Monsieur,—The visit of Prince Napoleon to Brussels will have the more attracted the attention of the Courts of Dresden and of Gotha, as family ties exist between them and the Court of Belgium. The visit of His Imperial Highness had no other object than to respond to the gracious

overtures of King Leopold. His Majesty had expressed a desire to see a situation established which would permit the two Courts to keep up the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood which exist between the two countries; and the Emperor authorised Prince Napoleon to be, on his side, the interpreter of the same sentiments. This visit, as you perceive, has no political character; but the moment at which it has been accomplished imparts to it a significance which will, I doubt not, have been perceived by the two Courts of Dresden and Gotha; it will serve to dissipate the reports which malevolence and error have been propagating for some months past on the subject of our relations with Belgium, at the same time that it shows the perfect harmony which His Majesty desires from his heart to keep up with the neighbouring States. In fine, it will prove that nowhere has the straightforward character of his policy been better appreciated than by a sovereign whose elevated intelligence was quite misunderstood when apprehensions were attributed to him which have been proved to be altogether unfounded. You are well aware, Monsieur, that it has been falsely pretended that the King of the Belgians had, during his last visit to London, and in consequence of the investigations of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, endeavoured to break the alliance between France and England, and that his influence had induced a high personage to second his efforts. The Emperor, in sending a prince of his family to Brussels, to visit a sovereign who by his age and his rank is the chief of the Coburg family, has a real pleasure in publicly attesting that there is not a member of that illustrious house whom he does not believe to be animated towards him by the most friendly sentiments.

(Signed) "DROUYN DE LHUYS."

Prince Napoleon Jerome had been spoken of for the Command-in-chief of the French expeditionary army. He is not a soldier except in an honorary sense; but *en revanche*, he is a General. However, this intention, if it ever existed, has been abandoned; he is to command a brigade of reserve. The appointment of the Command-in-chief is not yet (at the time we write) gazetted in the *Moniteur*. General Pelissier is mentioned; it is believed that Marshal St. Arnaud desires it, and that General Baraguay d'Hilliers would gladly exchange his embassy (for which he has proved his incapacity) for the appointment. But it seems that General will be simply recalled from the embassy. The generals expected to command divisions are Canrobert, Bosquet, and McMahon. General d'Allonville will, it is believed, take the command of the cavalry. The first corps will probably consist of 30,000 men, and a second of about 25,000 or 30,000 will form the second division.

The Atlantic squadron, which sailed from Brest on the 8th, passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the 17th.

The *Moniteur* of yesterday publishes a decree calling out the remaining men of the contingents of 1849 and 1850.

It also contains the letter of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to General Castellbajac, ordering him to leave St. Petersburg with all the officials of the Embassy, except M. de Castillon, to whom, till further orders, the protection of French interests at St. Petersburg is confided.

The Princess Lieven has delayed her secession till the latest moment. She left Paris on Thursday morning for Brussels, accompanied by her son, Prince Paul de Lieven, and her niece, the Princess Kontchaké. The retreat of the Princess is the signal for the departure of all the Russians remaining in Paris.

It is expected in Paris that Lord Raglan, the Duke of Cambridge, and the officers of the British staff will go to their destination *via* Paris and Marseilles. A brilliant and enthusiastic reception is promised them in Paris. The Parisians were disappointed of the proposed fraternisation of the French and British regiments in the Champ de Mars; it is to be hoped that they will have the opportunity of entertaining the staff.

The reply of the Emperor Nicholas to Louis Napoleon is said to be couched in unsatisfactory, arrogant, and discourteous language. It contained a pointed allusion to the events of 1812.

A report was current on Thursday in the diplomatic circles in Paris that Louis Napoleon had received an autograph letter from the Emperor of Austria, in which he expresses his regret at the failure of negotiations; appreciates warmly the policy of the Emperor of the French; assures him of his agreement in the determination to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman empire; and concludes by stating that he has written to the Emperor of Russia, calling upon him to order the evacuation of the Principalities *within a short delay*, as he is sending an army to the frontiers for the purpose of preventing the consequences of a prolonged occupation of the Danubian Provinces.

The rumour that Prince Menschikoff had arrived in Paris gave great confidence to the "bulls" on the Bourse in the early part of the week. The Prince Menschikoff was the prize ox chosen for the *bœuf gras* of Shrove Tuesday.

Meyerbeer's new opera, *L'Etoile du Nord*, has been an immense success. The *fièvre* on the first night recalled the first nights of the *Huguenots* and *Robert le Diable*. Tickets were sold at fabulous prices. The Emperor and Empress were present. After five months' constant rehearsal under the eye of the *maestro*, it may be supposed the performance went without a hitch. M. Battaille's acting and singing, in the character of *Peter the Great*, was remarkably fine. Mademoiselle Caroline Duprez was rather too youthful and gentle in *physique* for *Catherine*, but as a Scribe version of the Empress she enchanted the audience. The chorus was better than usual, and the orchestra irreproachably conducted. There were three military bands on the stage in the second act. The encores were so numerous (four in the second act) that the third act began at half-past five. The finale of the second act, commencing with a grand bass air by Battaille, and developing into a climax of choral and orchestral harmony, of which the National Hymn and a Triumphal March are the leading subjects, was the event of the evening. At the close of the opera Meyerbeer was called for, and appeared, leading on Mademoiselles Caroline Duprez and Lefèvre.

The new corps of Guards, is to be a choice body-guard, of only 200 men, but the privates will have the rank and pay of sergeant-majors in the army. The non-commissioned officers will rank as officers. The Emperor himself will be Colonel-in-Chief.

Count Branczik, writes the Paris correspondence of the *Morning Chronicle*, a rich Polish refugee, long resident in France, has obtained grand letters of naturalisation from the Government, and been appointed a senator. Count Branczik, who was at one time one of the aides-de-camp of the Emperor Nicholas, is a man of enormous wealth, and has contributed largely to many of the principal industrial enterprises in France. He was forced to leave Russia on account of his liberal opinions.

From the seat of war the news is again very scanty this week. Omer Pasha has quite recovered his indisposition. Both armies were occupied in bringing up reinforcements, and carefully observing one another. There had been frequent skirmishes.

The attack upon Fort St. Nicholas by the Russians, which was reported to have been made by Russian vessels of war after the departure of the fleets from the Black Sea, was, as we suggested last week would turn out to be the case, a land attack, on the 19th, not on the 6th, of January. It was to have been supported by a naval force, but the heavy weather would not permit the ships to approach the place. The attack was a complete failure. Four Russian battalions, with 1,000 Georgian irregulars and two pieces of artillery, attacked the fort; but the Turks made a sortie, and completely routed them.

The condition of the Ottoman army continued to be excellent, and Omar Pasha, generalissimo, had made all his arrangements for driving the Russians back from Kalafat, in case they should make their attack in front; and had taken the most energetic military measures for stopping the Russians, in case they endeavoured to force a passage through Serbia, in order to turn the Turkish position. The works of the projected fortification of Constantinople had already commenced. The lines had been traced out.

Some eminent Israelites at Adrianople have raised a free corps of their brethren. The Sultan has accepted the services of its members, and presented to it two banners, one of which bears three golden fishes, and the other a silver crescent.

The most important news from the East is the Russo-Greek insurrection in Epirus, Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia. This revolt of the mongrel populations, who think the name of "Greek" a mantle for every sort of scoundrelism, is the first fruits of that "Greek Empire Notion" so industriously propagated by the means of the eminent Greek firms in London some months since, with the aid of the usual pseudo-classical rhapsodies of Phil-Hellenist dupes and simpletons. The miserable Government of Athens, if not an accomplice (and the Queen of Greece is every inch a Russian), is powerless to prevent the rising, which deserves no sympathy, for it is not the rising of nationality, but of paid pirates and bravos. Great numbers of young men and officers have left Athens to join the insurgents, who are said to number 3000 men. A lieutenant of the Greek army, and a detachment of troops from the frontier, had joined the rebels.

Great excitement prevailed in the kingdom of Greece, and there were symptoms of disturbances in the Ionian Islands.

Five Turkish steamers and a swarm of sailing vessels, conveyed by five English and three French steamers, under Admiral Lyons, left the Bosphorus on the 7th with stores for Sinope, Trebizond, and Batoum.

The difference concerning the purport of their instructions had occasioned a serious misunderstanding between Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Admiral Dundas.

The Emperor Nicholas has been seriously ill from irritation and excitement. He has had an attack of erysipelas. When the French Ambassador requested an audience to present the letter of Louis Napoleon the Emperor was unable to receive him. The utmost activity prevails in all departments in preparations for war. The *Journal de St. Petersburg* of the 12th contained the benediction of the Metropolitan Bishop of Moscow, on the departure of the 16th division of the army. This sanguinary priest commends the army to its mission by the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and speaks of Russia as provoked to war.

Another rhapsody has been published by authority, in which the Emperor is apostrophised as the greatest man upon earth, before whom the vain Frenchman and proud Englishman bow. The latter are called a race of miserable pigmies, speaking big words, but white in the face with fear.

The Czar has summoned Prince Paskiewitch to St. Petersburg to assist him with his counsel. He "protests" against the position assumed by the Western Powers as an "attack upon his rights;" but he is said to be more incensed at the "ingratitude and treachery" of the German Powers than at the positive hostility of France and England. He has ordered the march of a considerable force of the Imperial Guard, with other troops, in the direction of the Prussian frontier.

Meanwhile Austria professedly adheres to the Western Powers. She sends 25,000 men to the south-eastern frontier to put down any attempt at insurrection against the Porte, whether in Servia, Montenegro, or Bosnia.

Baron Budberg, the Russian Minister to Prussia, and General Benckendorff, the resident Russian General in Berlin, are neither of them in the Prussian capital at present.

Saxony, Bavaria, and Hesse Darmstadt, talk of bringing forward an urgent motion at the Bund to procure a collective declaration of neutrality in the Russo-Turkish conflict.

Looking to the Baltic, we find Denmark is busily occupied in concentrating troops on Zealand, and in reinforcing the complement of sailors for the fleet. The fortress of Kronberg is being dismantled, and the artillery being conveyed to the fortresses of Nyborg and Fredericia, which command the Great and Little Belt respectively. The island of Christiansoe is also being considerably strengthened.

Of Sweden we hear that the number of sailors summoned to take service has been again increased, and every

exertion is being made to get the fleet into a serviceable state.

The Norwegian Storting was opened in Christiania on the 8th inst., by the Stadholder of the kingdom, who read a Royal letter from King Oscar to his "Good Sirs and Men of Norway." The passage which referred to the coming crisis:—

"For the united kingdoms (Norway and Sweden) I have, in conjunction with the King of Denmark, and with reference to possible contingencies, resolved to assume a neutral attitude, which we, seeing that we were originally and remain totally uninterested in the differences that have arisen between other Powers, must endeavour by strength and unity to maintain. I feel convinced that the Norwegian people will shun no sacrifice that may be requisite to enable me to preserve and protect an independent attitude, with which our nearest and dearest interests are identified."

While, on the part of Russia in Finland, 100 gun-boats are to be got ready, and 60,000 Russian troops are to occupy the coasts of the Gulf of Bothnia, the Finnish regiments being prudently sent to other quarters.

The false report of Russia having taken Khiva, has been again revived for the third time within six months. We must not, however, allow this cry of wolf to deaden our sense of the designs of Russia upon Khiva, which are a traditional idea of Russian policy. The possession of Khiva would give Russia the direction of the caravans of China, Thibet, and India, and would establish her line of communications between the Black Sea and the far East.

Baron Brenier, the mysterious envoy of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has arrived at Naples from Florence. At Florence he is said to have assured the Grand Duke that France could not approve his system of government, while discouraging revolutionists. He has had more difficulty in getting the ear of the King of Naples. Russia tells the Italian Governments that their action must be guided by instructions from Austria, and that all they have to do is to "maintain domestic tranquillity." "In future the Russian Government hopes to be able to offer more decided suggestions to those Italian Governments which have so happily triumphed over European democracy."

There have been bread riots in the Roman States. Lord Minto's residence in Tuscany is a bugbear to the Government. Exile is the penalty of paying him a visit.

Generals Concha and O'Donnell are struck off the list of the Spanish army.

The passport system is abolished within the Spanish territory, and replaced by annual travelling permits, furnished to families by the police.

Letters from Athens state that the Queen of Greece intends to make another visit to her fatherland this summer, and to stay some time in Vienna. An American corvette anchored in the Piræus on the 6th inst. The report soon became current that an American fleet of five ships of war would follow, and proceed to take up a position in the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

MR. STURGE AT ST. PETERSBURG.

LETTERS have been received from the gentlemen deputed by the Society of Friends to wait on the Czar in his capital and invoke from him the blessings of peace. They travelled there very comfortably, and saw Count Nesselrode, who obtained for them an introduction to the Emperor. Mr. Pease, one of the deputation, says that their audience of the Emperor lasted nearly half-an-hour. The Emperor received them most graciously, and expressed himself much pleased with the object of their visit, and the motives which induced them to make so long a journey. The Emperor afforded them every opportunity to express their views, and stated to them at great length what he thought of the present state of affairs. He said that they should not leave without being introduced to the Empress, and on the Empress entering the room the Emperor explained the object of their journey. On taking their leave the Emperor shook them heartily by the hand; and on quitting the palace they were much struck by the cordial reception given to "three plain, humble, simple men of peace." Mr. Joseph Sturge states that the Czar received himself and colleagues in the most courteous manner, and listened with the greatest attention to the address which they were deputed to present to him from the pacific bodies which they represented. They were induced to hope, from the tone and manner of the Emperor, that he was not insensible to the appeal, although the deputation were not equally confident that it would have the effect of staying the warlike preparations which were going on all around them.

Although it was the wish of "the Friends" to be as quiet as possible during their stay in St. Petersburg, it appears that their presence in the capital of Russia creates no inconsiderable degree of interest among the inhabitants, and that when they are observed in the streets they are not unfrequently followed by crowds of persons who take a favourable interest in the object of their mission. Mr. Sturge had intended to be in Birmingham on Monday next; but at the request of the Emperor, the deputation have determined to remain in St. Petersburg a day or two longer than it was originally proposed to continue.

THE PRESTON LABOUR-BATTLE.

(From our Correspondent.)

Preston, Thursday Evening.

At the adjourned meeting of the Associated Masters of Preston, held at the Bull Hotel, this day, in pursuance of the resolution of the 26th of January, it was unanimously resolved:—

"That the several mills of the Associated Masters having been re-opened in accordance with the resolution adopted at their last meeting, and several of them having had a sufficient number of hands to enable them to commence work, and to get into partial operation; and this meeting, believing that great numbers of the operatives are still prevented resuming work through intimidation and fear of personal violence, pledges itself to continue to afford all the protection in its power to every person engaged at the several mills, and at the same time to resist to the utmost that spirit of dictation and interference on the part of strangers to which the present unhappy differences are mainly attributable.

"That this meeting, at its rising, do adjourn to Thursday, the 23rd of March, 1854."

From the language of this resolution, it will be seen that the masters are content to preserve their present attitude, without offering any terms to the unionists, upon the faith that large bodies of operatives are desirous of resuming upon the terms offered by the association.

After careful inquiry, I have not been able to ascertain that anything approaching to molestation has been offered to those hands who have accepted work at the mills of associated masters; indeed, if any coercion has been exercised, it has been on the other side, many old servants having been summarily dismissed, for not inducing their children to accept the masters' terms. It appears, however, that many of those who were at work last week have since left their employment, either because they were dissatisfied with the rate of wages paid, or because they have been bribed by the union. The latter is assigned as the prevailing cause; and it is said, that as the masters put on "the screw," the delegates have tried the effect of a little "palm oil," and that the application has been found to be efficacious. Several of the masters (among whom the names of Messrs. Horrockses and Miller stand conspicuous) have taken out summonses against those who have abandoned their work without notice, and the magistrates were this morning engaged in hearing several cases that have arisen in this manner.

It should be clearly understood that the rate of wages now offered by the associated masters is in accordance with the resolution of November the 4th:

"That whenever the time shall arise for the re-opening of the mills, the rate of wages shall be the same as was paid on or before the 1st of March last, subject, however, to such alterations as may be recommended by the committee in particular cases."

The fallacy of the principle upon which this resolution was founded has been frequently pointed out, but the associated masters do not yet seem to understand that nothing short of absolute starvation is likely to induce the operatives to submit to a rate of computation so dictatorial and so manifestly unjust. If the masters had resolved that, whenever the time for re-opening their mills should arrive, they would pay no more for their cotton than they did in March last, they would not have committed a more glaring absurdity than they did in the resolution I have quoted; but the derisive laughter of the country, and the indignant refusal of the cotton brokers to acknowledge such a principle, would have speedily convinced them of the futility of their proceeding. Now, the operatives are quite as keenly alive to the value of the commodity which they have to sell as even the cotton broker; and it is quite certain that nothing short of absolute necessity will drive them into accepting such an arbitrary method of ruling its price.

Another obstacle in the way of reconciliation is to be found in the resolutions with which the masters refuse to acknowledge the existence of the delegates. A deputation of the Spinners' Committee sought an interview with the committee of the masters immediately after the meeting this morning, but without success; and the text of the resolution refers to the conduct of the unionists as "interference on the part of strangers, to which the present unhappy differences are mainly attributable." Now, whatever may be the opinion of impartial observers as to the policy of combinations on either side, they are now accepted facts, and both sides are now irrevocably pledged to act under the direction of their committees. The masters, with an apparent distrust of each other, have bound themselves by a bond conditional for the payment of 5000*l.* upon a breach of the laws of their combination; and the great body of the operatives having been kept from actual starvation entirely by the strength of their union, exhibit no disposition to disobey those who have hitherto conducted their agitation. So long as the association lasts, no associated master can make terms with his hands without the consent of his committee; and so long as the union is in existence, no interview between employer and employed can come to any definite result without the ratification of the delegates. To ignore

their existence, therefore, is simply absurd, and for one combination to refuse negotiation with another, simply because it is a combination, suggests the old fable of the pot and the kettle. The masters might, indeed, and with a very good grace, set an example to their operatives, by putting their bond into the fire and publicly dissolving their combination; but so long as they have a combination the exact counterpart of the union—committee and defence-fund to match—they certainly have no sound reason to complain of the tactics of the operatives. It should be observed that in all those cases where arrangements have been satisfactorily entered into, and which were quoted in my letter of last week, the delegates fully concurred, and it is satisfactory to be able to add, not only that those arrangements have been scrupulously adhered to, but that no disposition has been evinced to treat concessions made with anything that could be construed into an air of triumph. The hands who have resumed work with Mr. Hollins, of the Royal Sovereign Mill, continue to exhibit the best feeling possible, and the applicants for his new looms have been so numerous, that he has been compelled to refuse all but very first-rate weavers.

In repudiating the terms now offered by the association, the operatives point, and with some show of justice, to the fact that there are now twenty-one firms in Preston whose works are running at the advance requested. A placard headed "QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESTON ASSOCIATED MASTERS" puts the point in the following emphatic terms:—

"Why don't those firms reputed to be the richest take the lead in paying as high a rate of wages as it is possible to give? Is it intolerable greed of cash or is it colonial pride that prevents 'a consummation so devoutly to be wished'? If pride be the reason, what is that sort of pride which accepts contributions that enable master spinners and manufacturers to 'carry on,' rather than do as the before-mentioned twenty-one firms at the present period are doing—give 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work'?"

It should be observed, that in this list of twenty-one firms are to be found the names of Messrs. Napier and Goodwin, the second employers of labour in Preston, whose works have never ceased running, and who gave the required prices in August last.

Among the incidents of the week, I may notice the sale, by public auction, of the goods and chattels taken in distress, as recorded in my letter of last week. The sale took place in the Orchard. The delegates made speeches from the cart, exhorting the people not to bid against them. The goods were bought in for about 11*s.*, and were carried through the streets in triumph, "TEN PER CENT. AND A SURRENDER" being painted upon an empty flower cask.

The committee of the Masters' Association held a very long and private meeting this afternoon, but the result is not known. It is thought that they contemplate scouring Ireland and the agricultural districts for recruits to fill the factories, and it is even said that posters are now being printed for the purpose of agitating the agricultural districts. Those manufacturers who make very coarse goods may be able to carry on their business with such aid; but it is impossible for those who make fine goods for the home market to employ untrained hands without serious injury to their business. The skilled hands are therefore very easy about this. On the other hand, the unionists threaten to transport all the skilled labour out of Preston unless the masters speedily come to terms, and as their funds, instead of falling off, are upon the increase, it is by no means impossible that they may carry the menace into execution. This, certainly, would be a perfectly legal method of forcing up the value of the Labour Market; but the manufacturing interest of Preston would be many years in recovering from the effects of such a blow. There are, however, many difficulties in the way of effecting this, and I would fain hope that matters will not be allowed to reach so terrible an extremity.

The balance-sheet of the Amalgamated Committee, for receiving public and trades' moneys, affords the best possible proof of the side which public feeling takes in this dispute. The list of associated trades which pour in their subscriptions is astonishing, and the moneys so derived amount to 1127*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* The Amalgamated Engineers figure to the tune of 500*l.*, the metropolitan trades send 130*l.*, the chair-makers, 20*l.*, the tailors of Cambridge, 2*l.*, and the boiler-makers, 10*l.*; even the workpeople at the Crystal Palace appear to have caught the infection, and Mr. Hawkins's plasterers, those (if I mistake not) who are briskly engaged in calling into a new existence the monsters of the præ-Adamite world, have enough of modern sympathy to send 13*s.* 9*d.* down to Preston.

BRITISH MORALS.

EARLY in the week the police found a young girl in the street, arrayed only in her night clothes. Questioning her, they found that she was a young orphan Belgian; that she had been persuaded to come from Belgium to England, where she had been confined in

a house near the Vauxhall-road; that she had been transferred to Paris, there violated, and brought back again to England and kept in confinement, from which she had just escaped. Of course the aid of the Westminster magistrate was invoked, and from the information given by the girl, a person named Adolphus Harrison, described as a "low-looking fellow, of shabby exterior," was arrested, and on Wednesday brought before the magistrate. The charge against him was—conspiring with others to defile and seduce the young woman. She was examined. Her name, she said, was Alice Leroy. She first saw Harrison in Brussels, and he induced her and another woman to come to London, by promising millinery work at a house of business. "He said we should be allowed to walk out with the lady of the house in the parks on Sundays." She came to London in November, she thinks.

"Prisoner took me to Madame Denis's house. I think the name of the place is something like 'Dembish.' (The address is 3, Denigh-terrace, Vauxhall-bridge-road.) Defendant accompanied me to the house. Madame was at the window when we came up in the coach, and she came down and opened the door to us. He went in with me, and Madame said, 'Don't make a noise, or the servants will know something about it.' The dinner was just ready. We sat down to dinner. It was about half-past four or five o'clock. He dined with us, and a lady who had been sick. Madame Bradley was the sick lady, who was lying on the sofa. I saw the defendant the next day at the same house. He spoke to me, and asked me how I was. He dined there nearly every day; it was very rarely that he did not. He said to me, 'You see you are with a very nice sort of person, who will give you all sorts of good things.' He was speaking then of Madame Denis. He did not speak of any work for me in her presence; work was never spoken of, nor the 'house of business.' I never asked about it, for I saw before I had been there long for what purpose I had been brought. Before I had been there long I heard Madame Denis say to defendant that he must write to this lord and the other lord, when he replied, 'You must wait till Parliament House opens.' I heard it several times. I heard her say, 'You must go and see at the clubs.' He said sometimes, 'I have been; sometimes, 'I will go.' Nothing happened to me until a month after I was there, when a gentleman came. Defendant never told me what I was to do in the house." Here she was kept a close prisoner. She had no clothes except those she brought on her back from Brussels. "At the end of a month after I had been there, Madame opened our door and told us to dress and come down. The other two girls went down first, I went down last. When I went down there was a French lady sitting on the sofa; the other was sitting on the knee of a gentleman; they chatted together. Madame introduced me to the gentleman as her sister. Madame Denis said to the gentleman, 'This is my sister,' and Madame told me I must go up-stairs. I got up. I was sitting on the music-stool. She said I was to remain; it was not me to go, but the others. She said to me, 'You must remain.' The others went up-stairs. The gentleman said, 'Leave me alone with your sister.' (Otherwise interpreted, 'Nonsense about your sister.') 'She is no more your sister than mine.' The gentleman said he wished to go, but Madame said he must stay, and she would call the Parisian lady down to him. The gentleman remained, and Madame called the French girl down, and I went up-stairs to undress; I had put on a good dress to come down, and I went to take it off. Nothing more happened to me that evening. The ladies I have mentioned were the two girls living with me in the house. I saw this gentleman again after I was taken to Paris. I saw another gentleman before I went to Paris. I saw the first gentleman altogether three times; he was called a Greek prince. I saw an old marquis at the house, but I can't remember how long it was before I saw him. When he came, Madame came up and said, 'Make haste and come down, there is a gentleman below.' Only one went into the room to him; it was the Parisian lady. I was not in the room; I only opened the door and saw him there. After I had been introduced to the Greek prince, Madame was very angry with me. She said I was like a great country girl, because of my conduct and manner when my gown was opened. After I saw the Greek prince the defendant came; it was a day or two after, and Madame told him the Greek prince had been."

Here a remand was granted, as the poor girl was exhausted. The rest of her story has not yet been told. The magistrate refused bail for Harrison.

MR. W. J. FOX, M.P., AND THE STRIKES.

[The following letter certainly imposes upon our esteemed contemporary the duty of an explanation:—]

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

44, Cirencester-place, Portland-place,
Feb. 23, 1854.

Sir,—Trusting to your well-known sympathy towards the working classes, I am induced to hope that the following disingenuous attempt to create division in the ranks of the struggling men of the North, at the expense of the well-worn reputation of one of our most valued representatives, will not be considered unworthy of notice in the open columns of the Leader.

Knowing personally the high and deserved esteem in which Mr. W. J. Fox, M.P., is held by the intelligent workmen in the North of England, I think it due to ourselves, as much as to him, to expose such tricks as the one I now direct your attention to.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Builder of last Saturday (February 18th), in an article headed "Strike Leaders, Delegates, and

Workshop Orators," says, "Mr. W. J. Fox, M.P., who, if we mistake not, is looked on among the working classes as a sort of model member of Parliament, thus characterises the agitators &c., &c., and forthwith quotes a passage warning the said classes from giving their power to a certain class of political agitators. I will not transcribe the passage, but simply state that it is contained in a Prefatory Address to one of the well-known volumes of 'Fox's Lectures.' The volume now lies before me, and I find the preface dated February, 1849."

The Builder, without pause or remark, proceeds thus:—

"Hear what a fellow-workman at Blackburn says of the treatment he has received; he states in the Preston Guardian," &c. &c.—thus neatly mixing the warning given five years ago by W. J. Fox with the present alleged grievance of an anonymous "Blackburn Weaver."

The Times of this morning (Feb. 23rd) favours us with the same quotation from W. J. Fox; but in this case more prudence is shown, and it is given without note or comment, the author's name merely attached at the bottom.

As I doubt not the tempting morsel will be extensively copied by the journals, I trust the Leader will at least give publicity to this exposure.

J. R.

COLLIERY EXPLOSION—EIGHTY-EIGHT KILLED.

EIGHTY-EIGHT men killed in fair fight causes a shudder at the horrors of war. Ought we to feel less horror at the massacres arising out of the ordinary pursuits of industry? In March last 60 men were killed in the Arley mine, near Wigan; on Saturday last 88 more met a similar fate.

The colliers, numbering 240, went down the mine to work in the morning, and at noon about 14 came up. Suddenly a loud report, as of an explosion underground, was heard, and was quickly succeeded by a second report of a similar character. Then came the sudden rush of air, smoke, and dust from the upcast shaft which follows these dreadful occurrences. It was now known to those at the top that an explosion had taken place, and they began to take immediate steps to rescue the colliers below. An alarm was spread to the neighbouring mines, so that other colliers might be obtained, or volunteer to go down as searching parties; and Mr. Darlington, the managing partner of the works, then at Wigan, was also sent for. In the mean time a number of colliers below signalled to be drawn up, and five cageolads (probably 40 persons in all) were wound up the shaft. These had been at work in the south levels, and came to the top almost unscathed, but they reported that the north levels were on fire near the bottom of the shaft, thus cutting off the retreat of colliers who had escaped with life after the first burst of the explosion, or at least rendering their escape much more hazardous; and it was now that the really appalling nature of the accident became apparent. Nearly three hours elapsed before this fire could be extinguished so as to enable the searchers to proceed into the levels; and when they could proceed, their progress was necessarily slow, on account of the destruction of brattices, doors, and stoppings by the explosion, some of which had to be replaced before sufficient ventilation could be restored to support life. The work was of a trying and revolting character, and heaps of the dead and mutilated remains of the colliers had to be passed, and left for a time, in order that the first attention might be given to the living. One of the first men brought to the surface alive, from the north levels, was James Murphy, a collier, who had been working at the very far end of the mine, or 1200 yards from the shaft. He and another man, on feeling the shock of the explosion, started towards the shaft, but on reaching a point in the levels where the sulphur was overpowering, his companion turned back, while Murphy, resolutely putting his cap between his teeth, ran towards the shaft and was saved. The other man was lost. About 20 minutes to 8 o'clock at night a man and a boy were taken out nearly suffocated with sulphur, and soon afterwards another man was found, who was so much exhausted that he has been insensible ever since. Altogether eighty-eight bodies were recovered. The rest were brought up alive; but many were sadly mutilated. The usual scene of wailing multitudes of women and children collected round the pit mouth followed.

The coroner's inquest was opened on Monday, at the Navigation Inn, but merely for the identification of the bodies, in order to their removal and burial. Mr. Driffield, the coroner, who had to investigate the last explosion in the pit, again presided. The yard of the inn was crowded during the whole of the afternoon by the relatives of the deceased, most of them being witnesses in respect to the bodies. These were "laid out," bound up in calico, in barns and stables—in one 27, in another 22, in another 22, and in a fourth 14; two of them had been conveyed to their own homes. A more ghastly spectacle it was scarcely possible to realise than that presented upon looking into any one of these mortuaries. The corpses were arranged by the side of the buildings, with their feet towards the centre, some staring with glazed eyes, which the skill of those who had washed them had not been able to close; others with faces denuded of skin; and some with countenances swollen from suffocation with the "choke damp." There was a horrible character about the frigidity and regularity of the arrangement, and a sickening feeling came over all who looked in, except the men belonging to the neighbourhood, who sauntered about with great coolness, with their hands in their pockets, and betrayed few marks of any feeling whatever.

The cause of the "accident" will, no doubt, be duly investigated.

BUSHRANGING IN AUSTRALIA.

THE JOURNALS print the following letter from Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Anderson, late of the 50th Regiment

of Foot, addressed to his sister at Glasgow, giving an animated description of the doings and capture of two escaped convicts near Melbourne:—

"About two months ago two notorious and desperate convicts made their escape from Van Diemen's Land, and reached our coast. They at once commenced a fearful course of highway robberies, plundering and otherwise cruelly maltreating men, women, and even the children of all who resisted their outrages, and, before they had been a week at large, had committed no less than three murders. They were armed to the teeth, and from the beginning possessed themselves of the best horses they could find in their way, and in this manner, passing rapidly from place to place, they carried terror, death, and destruction wherever they went. Parties of our mounted police were sent out in all directions, and for a fortnight or more scoured the country in pursuit, by night and by day, without avail. At last a party, consisting only of your son (Charles Hope Nicolson), a brother cadet of the name of Thompson, and a trooper, came suddenly about sunset on a hut in the distant bush, many miles away from any other habitation, and found the door fixed; but on listening they heard voices within, and, on bursting open the door, found in an inner room no less than nine persons, who had been robbed and tied up by the bushrangers. While the captives were being released one of them called out, 'There they are,' and, on our heroes looking out, they saw the men galloping up with their revolvers levelled towards them. Although our party was on foot they instantly dashed at them, and inquired who they were. The villains, as if to gain time to ascertain how many they had to contend with, answered at first that they were neighbouring settlers, but our heroes were not to be done, and, seeing this, the bushrangers commenced the attack by firing at them, which our people instantly returned; but, unfortunately, poor Cadet Thompson fell from the leading bushranger's second shot, and thus your boy and the trooper had to continue the fight, and this they did so effectually that the villains gave way and galloped off, taking the trooper's horse away with them. Poor Thompson was then carried into the hut, and found to be wounded through the lungs. The trooper was despatched for medical assistance to Kilmore, nine miles off, and your son was left alone with poor Thompson, excepting the nine persons who had suffered themselves to be tied up, expecting every moment a second visit from the foe. Your son made the best arrangements he could, by posting the men, on whom he could place little confidence, around the hut, and in this perilous situation he continued until 2 o'clock in the morning, when the doctor, accompanied by two troopers, came to their relief and assistance. After this night of suffering from bodily fatigue and mental anxiety, at dawn of day your son, with his two troops, accompanied by a native black from Kilmore, again went in chase, the black following the trail of the bushrangers with the instinct of a bloodhound. One of the troopers was sent forward for the purpose of reporting, if possible, at the nearest police-station, what had occurred. Holding on their course for two or three miles, they saw the trooper returning at full speed, waving his cap. They pushed on, and soon got sight of the two bushrangers of the previous night, in company with a third, coming up at a cool and determined pace towards them. The conflict soon commenced, both parties rushing furiously and fearlessly at each other, discharging their fire from one or more barrels as they met, and after passing, each in their turn wheeling their horses round, and again at it, and in this way they continued to fire and hack with their swords at each other for some minutes. Your gallant boy was slightly grazed on the cheek by the lender's first shot, and the second passed right through his horse's neck; but, nothing daunted, he continued the fight, charging his man again and again until his ammunition was all gone. He then rode desperately at the fellow and threw himself from his horse on the bushranger, seizing him round the neck; both were brought to the ground, the bold and desperate villain still retaining one of his revolvers. A fearful struggle ensued, but your son got over him, disarmed him, and kept him so tight by the throat that he called out for mercy and quarter, and surrendered. Meantime the troopers had also succeeded in securing the other two villains, and all were now bound hand and foot and brought in triumph to Melbourne. On their way down the villains complimented your boy for his gallant and honourable conduct towards them in giving them a fair fight and a fair chance, and told him, as his reward, where he would find 1154 in gold "planted near the hut, and to which he was welcome, as money was no object to them now. They also confessed to no less than 17 murders during their lifetime, committed in various parts of the world, and only regretted that they had not 'settled' a few more of the police. They have been tried and executed since, and your gallant son has been promoted and otherwise rewarded. Poor Thompson, strange to say, is still living."

MISCELLANEOUS.

At a Privy Council, held on Saturday, the proclamation prohibiting the exportation of articles contraband of war was ordered to be issued. The Queen and Prince have partaken both in the cares of state and the pleasures of relaxation. The Queen has held her first levee, and the Prince has presided at sittings of the Governors of the Wellington College, and the Exhibition Commissioners. Both have visited the Zoological Gardens, and Mr. Foley's studio. Prince Albert went to the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham, on Thursday.

A very distinguished circle of guests have been entertained at the table of the Queen.

Among her visitors have been the political refugees, the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale.

Lord Lisburne has been elected for Cardiganshire in the room of Colonel Powell.

The triumph of Mr. Chichester Fortescue at Louth has

been complete. He defeated the Duffy-Lucas-Carlton Club candidate, Cantwell, by 195 majority.

The Court of Directors, on Wednesday, appointed Lord Harris governor of Madras. This is an excellent appointment.

The Lord Mayor intends to entertain Lord Raglan and the other officers going to Turkey, at the Mansion-house.

Mr. Wilkinson, M.P., delivered a lecture on wages to the working classes of Lambeth, on Wednesday.

A deputation of guardians from Marylebone and St. Pancras waited on Mr. Baines, on Thursday, and stated their objections to the abolition of compulsory removal and the law of settlement.

The Duke of Buccleuch has given a field to the inhabitants of Dalkeith for the purpose of turning it into a park.

A Sailors' Home was opened at Poplar on Tuesday, in the presence of Lord Byron and Sir Edward Parry.

The Council of the Imperial Oriental Society of Constantinople has conferred the distinction of honorary fellowship on Dr. Patrick Colquhoun, LL.D., of the Universities of Cambridge and Heidelberg, formerly accredited at the Sublime Porte, and has appointed him the correspondent of the society in England.

"W. B." seems likely to be further troubled about the Derby business. A crowded meeting was held at Derby on Tuesday evening, the object of which was to protest against the compromise made in reference to the recent trial for alleged bribery of the Derby electors. The chairman was Mr. Harpood. A letter was read from Mr. Coppock, in which that gentleman denied that the Liberal party in Derby had connived at any compromise. Mr. Bass entered into a long statement upon the subject, the gist of which was, that the prosecution had been abandoned because the Liberal party had not sufficient evidence to convict Major Beresford; so that, if the prosecution had been continued, the Liberal party would have sustained a defeat. A resolution was carried, expressive of the disapprobation of the electors at the "clandestine" compromise made in the case of "The Queen v. W. Beresford and others," and a petition was also agreed to, praying the House of Commons to institute an inquiry into a statement that the sum of 1000*l.* had been paid as the price of the abovenamed compromise.

An extremely influential meeting of bankers and merchants, and several members of Parliament, was held in the city on Saturday. They assembled to consider how best they might promote the erection of dwellings for the working classes. In the chair sat Sir Thomas Baring; Mr. Hubbard, Governor of the Bank of England; Mr. Prescott, Mr. Cotton, bankers; Lord Stanley, M.P.; Lord Ebrington, Lord Claude Hamilton, and others addressed the meeting. It was resolved, "That very many of the sanitary and social evils which affect the condition of the labouring classes have been proved to be attributable to the insufficient and inferior accommodation afforded by the habitations at present within their command, and the removal of so serious an obstacle to the advancement of their moral and physical welfare is therefore an object of extreme importance. That this object has been attained to a most remarkable degree by the operation of the metropolitan societies for improving the dwellings of the industrious classes, as shown by the results of sanitary improvement recently published by Dr. Southwood Smith, the average rate of mortality in the improved dwellings erected by the metropolitan association not being one-third that of the metropolis generally, while the rate of infant mortality in the same dwellings was little more than one-fifth. That improved dwellings can only be extensively and permanently established on terms affording a fair remuneration to the capitalist, and that this object can be most readily effected through the instrumentality and extended operation of the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, in which the liability of the shareholders is limited to the amount of their shares."

We find the following in the *Gazette* of Tuesday:—

Lieutenant-General FitzRoy James Henry, Lord Raglan, G.C.B., to be Commander of the Forces about proceeding on a particular service, with the rank of General while so employed.

Colonel Henry John William Bentinck, of the Coldstream Guards;

Colonel Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., upon half-pay Unattached;

Colonel Richard Airey, upon half-pay Unattached; and Colonel William Eyre, C.B., of the 73rd Regiment of Foot;

to be Brigadier-Generals while employed upon the Staff of the Forces about proceeding upon a particular service.

The above commissions to bear date 21st February, 1854.

Lord Rokeby, who goes out in command of the Scots Fusilier Guards, Colonel Drummond, and Captain Lake, who was severely wounded, are the only surviving officers who were with the regiment at Waterloo.

Major-General Yorke, an old Peninsula officer, succeeds Colonel Airey as Military Secretary to Lord Hardinge.

Lieutenant Engledeu, restored to his rank in the navy by Mr. Stafford, has been again struck off the list, for refusing to serve on the James Watt, 90-gun screw ship. He was struck off for a similar offence more than ten years ago.

A striking proof of the military ardour of the Scots Fusilier Guards exemplified itself on the regiment being drafted for Constantinople. Several of the corporals who were not required to go with the regiment were reduced to the ranks at their own special request, in order that they might be eligible to march with their comrades to the seat of war.

Ministers have made ample arrangements with the telegraphic railway and steam-ship companies for the despatch of orders, couriers, and mails to the East *via* Marseilles.

A correspondent of the *Times* wants to know why our sailors are not provided with revolvers? They would certainly be most efficient weapons in boarding.

Mr. Hudson meets with little but misfortunes in these

latter days. He has just been saddled with 4000*l.* damages for refusing, rightly as he believed, to ratify a contract for iron, made by an agent with the Count Seraincourt on behalf of continental railways. It appears to have been a genuine case of misconceived instructions on the part of the agent.

The case of Lumley *versus* Gye was settled this week in the Court of Queen's Bench by a verdict for Mr. Gye. The trial occupied three days, and finished on Wednesday. It was contended that Mr. Gye had wrongfully induced Miss Wagner to break a contract to sing for Mr. Lumley, whereby Mr. Lumley sustained great damages. Miss Wagner was engaged by Mr. Lumley to sing in 1852 at her Majesty's Theatre. It was stipulated that 300*l.* should be paid down by the 2nd April. Thinking that there was a screw loose, Mr. Gye saw Miss Wagner at Hamburg on the 5th April, and, believing her contract was at an end by the non-payment of the money, he prevailed upon her to sign a new engagement with him. The questions to be decided were, whether the contract was in force when it was alleged to be broken by Miss Wagner; whether Miss Wagner was induced to break it by Mr. Gye; and thirdly, whether Mr. Gye believed, at the time he entered into a contract with Miss Wagner, that her contract with Mr. Lumley was broken. The jury gave an affirmative answer to the two first questions, and a negative to the third. That was, in fact, a verdict for Gye. So this long business ends at last.

The following document, signed by nearly 400 of the Dublin metropolitan police, has been forwarded by them to the commissioners:—"The undersigned, believing that almost all, if not all, diseases of the respiratory organs are in great part, if not altogether, caused by the practice which obtains of shaving off the beard; that the discontinuance of the practice would greatly conduce to their comfort, exposed as they are to the inclemency of the weather, as well as save a great deal of trouble and sometimes considerable difficulty; that Nature, having supplied man with such an adornment, manifestly never intended that he should disfigure himself by the use of a razor, respectfully and earnestly request the Commissioners of Police to permit them entirely to discard it, and henceforth to wear their beards."

Postscript.

SATURDAY, February 25th.

PARLIAMENT last night was again engaged in discussing the Eastern question.

In the House of Commons, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, Sir JOHN WALSH called attention to the inadequacy of the military establishments of this country to meet the exigencies of the war into which we were about to enter; according to his showing our long policy of peace rendered us quite unfit to enter into such a contest.

Mr. ALCOCK complained of the conduct of Lord Stratford in not sending our fleets to the Black Sea after the affair at Sinope, and urged the driving of the Russians out of that sea.

Sir DE LACEY EVANS urged the withdrawal at this pressing emergency of the 47,000 troops which were in our colonies.

After some remarks on similar topics by Mr. F. FRENCH and Mr. HADFIELD, at the request of Lord J. RUSSELL, the House went into supply on the Army Estimates, which Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT brought forward, stating that the present estimate must not be considered final; the apparent increase was 10,000 men, but the real increase was larger in consequence of the completion of the numbers of the colonial regiments, and, in fact, the increase was 11,000 men. The expense of the army had increased in consequence of the price of provisions and new establishments, but the greatest economy had been used. Notwithstanding the increase in the army, the sum to be voted for the year was only greater by 270,000*l.* than that of last year. He then showed the great advance which had been made in the instruction of the soldier. Attempts would be made to improve military surgery, and the knowledge of the medical men of the army in diseases peculiar to unhealthy and tropical climates. A system of reward had been substituted in the army for punishment in the maintenance of discipline and encouragement to good conduct with great success. He stated that the establishment at Hythe for the practice of the Minié rifle had been most successful, the men being excellent marksmen. There would be a gradual withdrawal of our forces from the colonies, that withdrawal having already begun. A commission was about to be appointed to inquire into the subject of promotion, and endeavours would be made so to regulate it as to bring younger men into commands than was at present the case. This was not a war estimate, but he feared that before long he should be obliged to bring forward a supplementary estimate which would be decidedly a war estimate. He moved that the number of men should be 112,977 men.

After a discussion of the usual desultory kind, the vote for the number of men was taken.

On the next vote,

Mr. HUME, though always an advocate for the smallest possible number of men in the army, was yet always also desirous of their being kept in a most efficient state; and he congratulated the Government on the state in which the army now was, and even expressed his "delight" at the able administration of military affairs which now existed.

Mr. W. WILLIAMS moved that the emoluments of the colonels-in-chief of the Guards be placed on the same footing as those of the colonels of regiments of the line; but, after a short conversation, he withdrew the motion.

The usual skirmishing took place on the items of the different votes, but the whole were agreed to; the sum voted being 6,287,486*l.*

Sir JAMES GRAHAM then brought forward the Navy Estimates, which amounted to 7,487,948*l.*, being an increase on former years of 1,202,455*l.*, which he stated would supply 58,500, while in 1848 and 1849, a sum of eight millions was voted to supply only 45,000 men. The most noticeable items were an increase in the scientific branch, of which 1000*l.* was appropriated to the expense of nautical meteorological surveys, on the plan of Lieutenant Manning, and 5000*l.* for an expedition into Central Africa, to explore the river Tchadda. He also announced that no further expeditions would be sent to the Arctic Regions.

Several votes were taken before the House adjourned.

In the Lords, Lord BEAUMONT brought forward a motion in the following terms:—"That it appears from the documents which her Majesty has been graciously pleased to communicate to this House, that the efforts of her Majesty and of her allies to establish without recourse to arms amicable relations between the Sublime Porte and the Emperor of Russia have been unavailing; that it also appears that their efforts have failed to produce the desired effect, and that the Emperor of Russia continues to hold by force of arms two important provinces of the Ottoman Porte; that it is therefore the opinion of this House that the honour and best interests of this country require that immediate and effectual means be taken to repel the unjustifiable aggression of Russia on the territory of the Sultan, and that the power and influence of this country should be exerted to place the relations of the Sublime Porte, with the rest of Europe, on such foundations as shall appear best calculated to secure a desirable peace and afford the Ottoman empire a fair opportunity of developing its natural resources, and of proceeding with its administrative reform."

Disclaiming any intention of re-opening the discussion of a former evening, he still asserted that it appeared from the papers before the House that the Government had given way to credulity in believing the assurances of the Emperor of Russia. Another defect in the conduct of the Government was that that they did not take care to ascertain the relative positions of Turkey and Russia, and were especially not aware of the resources and national position of the former; for if they had, they would not have adopted so subservient a tone to Russia; and members of the Cabinet would not have depreciated the notion of preserving her integrity and independence. He contrasted the speeches of members of the Government at one time, with their appeals now to the patriotism and public spirit of the people to resist the aggression of Russia. He then proceeded to examine the conduct of Government since the meeting of Parliament, on which he founded much of his motion. What he expected, when it was found that the last negotiation for peace had failed, was that the Government would have come to Parliament with a declaration. But, instead of that, they had, in every way, evaded the question whether we were at peace or at war. Being left in ignorance of the state of things, he was justified in asking for information. He expressed a belief that the note resulting from the last conference at Vienna was still before the Czar, and if accepted by him, the Government would act on the basis of that note; and he protested against such an abortive termination to the dispute. He urged that the treaty of 1841 would be the proper basis of future conventions.

The Earl of CLARENDON rested the defence of the Government on the results which now appeared to be the isolation of Russia and the union of England, France, Austria, and Prussia, and war would be commenced under most favourable circumstances, being supported by public opinion all over the continent as well as in this country. This had been caused by the patient negotiation and forbearance, and was of itself a refutation of the charge of credulity or connivance on the part of the Government. As to the impatience for a formal declaration of war which had been expressed, he admitted that the event of war seemed inevitable, and he urged that as England did not stand alone, but acted with and for others, she must not act with precipitancy. He expressed an opinion that all future treaties which should be the result of peace should be so framed as to define the position of Russia and Turkey, and to put an end to the aggression of Russia, and secure Turkey her proper place in the great comity of nations.

After the Earl of MORNINGTON and Lord LYTTON had spoken,

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE delivered a speech which did not differ materially from those he had made before on the subject; his only new point being, that we had sent out a large force for war purposes without a message from the Crown, which was against precedent, to which—

Earl GRANVILLE replied that, formally, the troops at present were only sent to Malta, a British colony, and not abroad, which did not require a message from the Crown, although there was no doubt that the troops were destined for foreign service. He defended the Government, without indicating out anything new.

After a speech from Earl FITZWILLIAM, and a reply from Lord BEAUMONT, the House adjourned.

A telegraphic dispatch from the Vienna correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* announces that, according to advices from Constantinople, of February 13, the division of the fleet which had entered the Bosphorus had returned to the Bosphorus. The Turkish convoy arrived at Varna on the 11th. It was reported that Reschid Pacha would be made Grand Vizir.

ATHENS, FEB. 16.—The insurgents in Epirus muster 8000. Numerous students and volunteers have gone to the frontier. The garrison of Chalcis has done the same. The army on the frontier has been reinforced. The Director of Police has been deposed. A Turkish complaint and a Turkish note have been presented to the Ambassadors of the Great Powers.

The *Sentinel de la Marine* of Toulon, of the 23rd., announces that orders have arrived there for the embarkation of the troops. All the measures had been taken.

The expected insurrection in Spain has begun. A telegraphic despatch from Bayonne announces that a Pronunciamento has taken place at Saragossa, to the cry of "Vive Concha." A colonel was shot. The insurgents were driven out of the city, and retreated towards Huesca.

(From our Correspondent at Preston.)

Friday Evening.

The following notice is prepared, and although not yet issued, will shortly be placarded over Ireland and the agricultural districts:—

RE-OPENING OF THE MILLS AT PRESTON.

WANTED A large number of FACTORY OPERATIVES and young persons of both sexes desirous of obtaining employment in Factories, with whom permanent engagements will be made on liberal terms.

The present offers a favourable opportunity for large families desirous of removing to the manufacturing districts.

Application to be made to the SECRETARY of the MASTERS' ASSOCIATION, PRESTON.

February 23rd, 1854.

ERRATA.

In the letter signed Cincinnatus on the "Treatment of the Army," page 151, third column, twenty-first line from the top, for "jacket and smalls," read "jacket and overalls." "Overalls" is the technical term for trousers in the cavalry. In the article on "The Russians at Sea," page 158, first column, in the extract from a private letter, for "it would be worth while to try whether steamers could turn the position of Cronstadt by this (the Stettin) channel," read "by this (the Southern) channel."

With regard to this statement our friend writes us: "If I had supposed my words would have been printed, I should have stated 'the channel is marked out by stakes near the Isle of Hogland, far below Cronstadt,' &c., which would have been more exact, as higher up it becomes freer from shoals of that very marked character. However, no one can say that what you have printed is wrong, for my words do not imply that that mode of marking out is continuous from Cronstadt."

The Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1854.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

REVOLUTION TAUGHT BY DIPLOMACY.

THE events of the past twelve months have suggested many historical parallels, but none more interesting than a recent retrospection of the past, which the *Moniteur* has furnished to *La Presse*. The *Moniteur* cites from a file of 1805, an instance of aggression by Russia upon Turkey. The *Moniteur Universel*, of September the 8th, 1805, in a letter from Constantinople, of the 23rd of July, related a proposition made by Russia to Turkey. The proposal was for a treaty offensive and defensive between the two States. But an alliance with Russia is the hug of a bear; and so it was in this case. Amongst the terms it was proposed that "all the subjects of the Turkish Empire

who professed the Christian religion should pass under the protection of Russia, and that every time they should be molested by the Turks, the Porte should be bound to accord redress on the representation of the Russian Ambassador." Here we encounter the exact prototype of Prince Menschikoff. The same demand was modified under the treaty of Kainardji, which secured for the Greek subjects of Turkey such protection as could be accorded, by enabling the Russian Ambassador to make "representations" in favour of the injured Greek subjects of Turkey.

The whole history of the ever-recurring "Russian Question" shows how she consents to the policy of "instalments," and how, through all apparent concessions, she perseveres in her main object. Thus, in 1805, we find her requiring the Porte to make redress on the "representations" of the Russian Ambassador; under the treaty of Kainardji, Russia accepted the position simply of making "representations," dropping the redress; but in the Menschikoff ultimatum of 1853 the claim for protection and redress, in conjunction with "representations," was renewed. Fifty years have passed, Russia has been biding her time, has in semblance effected modifications, and still the old original claim comes out.

Times have changed; the very date of this despatch from Constantinople, as compared with its publication in the *Moniteur*, is a contrast with our own despatches dated a few days since, although we are still surprised at the backwardness of communication within the Turkish frontiers. But they did not dream of the telegraph in 1805. Again, the Sultan Selim, we are told by the *Moniteur Universel*, "rejected the paper with indignation, while tears of anger rolled from his eyes;" but although he rejected it, he was forced to temporise; and the *Moniteur* of Napoleon's day could do little more than advise him "to take sabre in hand and drive the foe from his territories." There is now a French fleet, and there will soon be a French army, to sustain the Sultan. Manifesto are the changes that Time, the Nemesis of nations, has brought. It is true that since Selim reigned, as we lately described, the Servians have gained an independence which they did not then know; true, that other states of so-called "Greek" Christians have acquired a consciousness of their own strength; but Russia is better understood now than she was then, and Abd-ul-Medjid, if sustained by a less slavish and fanatical population, is guaranteed by Europe, and by a special combination even more significant. In 1805 France and England were the great representatives of opposite sides; Turkey and Russia were but make-weights in the contest; now, France and England are one, at sea and on shore.

But while the world has been making progress, diplomacy seems to have stood still; indeed, stagnation was almost inevitable. Diplomacy is an art, and art never advances with the discoveries of the science that ministers to it, but only with the occasion that gives it opportunity; and diplomacy, being hitherto the servant of thrones and royal families, has had no opportunity since the last European commotion of exercising itself on a new field or in a new direction. In 1854 we still have the diplomacy of 1815 or 1805. Diplomacy itself is astounded when it arrives at the very contingency which it had itself predicted. M. de Chateaubvieux, whose *Lettres de St. James* were printed at Geneva in 1820, prophesied the combinations and the questions of 1854; and calculated that Russia would attain to a gigantic power, to balance which it would require that other States should resist and form a new European equilibrium.

"Such combinations," said M. de Chateaubvieux, "would be the exact reverse of those hitherto made; that is to say, hitherto combinations have been in favour of Russia, for the reason that her forces were necessary to keep down rebellion, and this was rendered possible, because Russia has not hitherto offended the great states of the continent."

"But when this spirit shall change, the continent will find itself in immediate collision with this empire, without having a counterpoise to oppose its power; for neither one of those states is strong enough to fulfil that task. It will be necessary then for them to make alliances amongst themselves, in order to form masses equivalent to that of Russia."

"Such a plan," says M. Chateaubvieux, writing in 1820,

"Seems chimerical now, and it will be so, so long as society remains decomposed, as it still is in the European states, and while it retains the distrust which that decomposition inspires. The necessity for alliance against a common danger will bring back unity and confidence."

"The danger must, therefore, show itself before it will be able to organise a resistance commensurate with itself. This danger can only come from the East; it is only there that

the elements of war abound. Austria and Prussia will receive its first shock. Too weak to assist each other for a single day, their common position must draw them together to form against Russia, with the rest of Germany, a political mass capable of resisting the shock. But, far from organising itself in that manner, Germany is placed in dependence on Russia by the past, by the fears which agitated her at the revolutions that have been worked out in the West of Europe, and which are working within her own borders."

"But England, France, Spain, and Holland, instead of remaining strangers to each other, will be called by their position and the common danger to contract a defensive alliance."

M. de Chateaubvieux remarks on the forced character of the revolutions which have hitherto arisen against tyranny in Europe, but have not succeeded, commensurately with their high purpose, in establishing the practical self-rule of the commonwealth. After thirty-three years these words are a living shame. There have been faults on both sides. Diplomacy and Governments have failed to draw strength from the nations which they professed to govern, because they ignored or estranged the people; and the people have failed to establish a firm Government, because they have sought to construct powers on *a priori* principles, and have disregarded exigencies and conditions—have left out of account the actual forces of the world. To a Viennese Emperor or diplomatist, the word "people" means revolution. Even the names of whole States not identified with the monarchy and bureaucracy of Vienna are watch-words of war, and the six letters of "Italia" are a name of hate and terror at Schonbrunn. We fear there is still in other States too strong a disposition to regard the peoples simply as something to be "put down." The antecedents of the present French Government would excuse our apprehension that such a view prevails in Paris. Even in London the patriotism of the people is repaid with niggard confidence. But the recent declaration of the *Moniteur* that while the flags of Austria and France are floating together in the Black Sea they cannot be severed in Italy or on the Alps, implies a mistrust of the peoples in Europe, as well as a menace to the Russian intrigues amongst the mongrel Greeks of the Turkish dominions. It would be a fortunate thing for Europe if those who are *de facto* its leaders, who sit in the centre of office, possessing administrative power, and wielding its armies, were to adopt the one sagacious declaration ascribed to our Richard the Second, and were to say to the revolution, which means only the revolt of instinctive justice against tyranny, "We will be your leader." They are leading a revolt of Europe against Russia; but there is nothing which Russia has done in Poland or Wallachia that cannot be ascribed also to Austria in Hungary and Italy.

We may say this the more freely, since, with all the energy of unflinching fidelity, we have declared, and still retain, our hope that the popular leaders in Italy, in France, or in Germany, will have sufficient control over their followers to restrain any premature movement. We would not press even Austria, while Austria is making herself an instrument for subduing one of the tyrants of Europe. If the tyrants could always be so well employed as in mutual destruction, we would stand by to cheer them at their work. Nor can the great contest of Europe pass off without opportunities; but the duty of the day is, not to mistake a temptation for an opportunity, and not to provoke the ruling class of France or England to suppress a revolution now, when ere long both Governments may be taught to consider the oppressed peoples as allies against a common enemy. If diplomacy has stood still, we trust that true republican patriotism has gathered wisdom from its many trials and reverses in this century; and that the official leaders of Europe will be taught to appreciate the support which awaits them in the hour of extremity, by finding out how that support can bring sagacity to council, as well as raw strength to the battle-field.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AS IT IS TO BE.

A PLAN for the reform of the Civil Service has long been brewing in the official mind; many contributions towards the discussion have been under the consideration of statesmen high in office; a kind of proximate scheme has been laid before the Treasury, and we have previously described its general character. It would consist chiefly in throwing open the candidature for civil offices to the public at large, admission to be the prize of proved capacity; the civil servants to be transferable from one department to another; to be promoted by merit, tested under examination or

certificate, and to be eligible to the "staff appointments" or highest posts in the Civil Service. This would be a great improvement in abolishing appointments for political patronage, in removing the inducement to crowd the Civil Service with men unsuited for such occupations, in obtaining a larger round of working experience to the public officer, and in freeing for him the path to promotion, at present almost absolutely closed in its highest grades.

The plan has been violently assaulted by a contemporary as tending to reduce the English Civil Service to an Austrian bureaucracy; and increased efficiency has been deprecated as dangerous to the commonwealth. We do not want clever civil servants, it is said, so long as we have men that can just read and write, and do what they are bid, for strong civil servants make a weak people. In short, the most superficial arguments against clever administration were pressed into the war against the proposed reform. The argument of the Tory, who would prevent the people from learning to read and write; of the martinet officer, who relies on the cat-o'-nine-tails, and would keep the soldier from reading lest he should have a will of his own; nay, the principle of Jack Cade, who would hang a man for "setting of boys copies," is applied by an able and Liberal contemporary to the censure of a scheme which seems dreaded for the simple reason that it emanates from official authors.

For our own part, we do not hold that that master is best served whose servants are ignorant and ill-trained; nor have we any very great respect for that master who can only secure his own independence by surrounding himself with incompetent servants. We should be sorry to see the argument of our alarmed contemporary prevail. Let us have an able Civil Service, and the public will be still more independent, because it is possible to enforce a stronger responsibility upon able officers than upon those who are incompetent. No tyrant is so unmanageable as a fool; nothing is so irresponsible as notorious incompetency.

We should regret, therefore, if any mistaken pedantry were to lead the propounders of a most useful reform into such priggish refinements as would justify the complaint of our contemporary. We are not without fears that that justification may be impending. Although the report presented to the Treasury, and signed by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote, is upon the whole practical in its character, it is not without some trace of a martinet pedantry, which enemies might turn to great account. The idea of making all civil servants classical scholars, proficient in mathematics, and students in political economy, is startling. We cannot forget that other reports besides that in question have been submitted to Ministers, including one that had the most astounding perfection and minuteness of classification; dividing all offices into symmetrical compartments, and subdividing the compartments into fractional copies; allotting duties with the most marvellous imaginativeness, and proposing official arrangements and special officers for such purposes as to read the newspapers, to record the opinions thereof, to provide clothing for the clerk, and even, if our memory is not catching the imaginative infection, taking care for the washing of the clerk's clothes. We had dismissed that poetical composition from our minds, until we find, published with the report to the Treasury, a letter from the Reverend Benjamin Jowett, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, to Sir Charles Trevelyan. Mr. Jowett supplies a certificate to Sir Charles as to the sufficiency of the examination for certain purposes. He endeavours to meet objections against the proposed examination, and to show that it would be sufficient, at least with some help, to test the moral character of the candidates. He thinks that with such aids as he suggests, a standard of character might be obtained at least "as high as the standard of character, which can be assured in persons admitted to holy orders." The test of education is difficult, but he characteristically inclines to take the test of proficiency in Greek and Latin; with special qualifications testing the candidates' power to write a neat hand, and their thorough knowledge of arithmetic and book-keeping, and English composition. That, however, is far from all. Every candidate should give reference to a clergyman or magistrate; so that not capacity, not personal qualities alone, but connexions, are to be considered. The candidate must also give reference to a clergyman or dissenting minister: are we to

understand that his religious principles are to be subjected to inquiry, and that the public office is to be placed on the same footing as Confirmation or the Communion? Nay, he must give reference to a medical man, and must come up to the standards of "an insurance office." Marvellous will be this public service, tested by a pedagogic examination in Greek and Latin, by a clerical voucher, and by an insurance standard of health and responsibility! A Chinese bureau would be nothing to it. We have scarcely yet done with Mr. Jowett's suggestive hints. Such is to be the purity of this picked and model order, that the bar sinister is to be a bar to the admission to office; otherwise, why require certificate of birth and baptism? Mr. Jowett places the Civil Service on a footing with—we were going to say some conventual order; but really we can think of no order that would require all these tests of accomplishments, health, morals, religion, and legitimacy—not even the religious order of chivalry. The civil servants are to be like the Knights of Saint John, *sans peur et sans reproche*; only no Knight of Saint John ever had to undergo so severe a trial of his reading, writing, and arithmetic—his geography, humanities, and exact sciences—to say nothing of engineering and political economy! The civil servant is to be a model prize; and the only question is, how any dozen young Englishmen are to force through the forbidden gate over which Jowett presides, as a mild-eyed angel with a flaming sword, in order to penetrate to the systematist heaven within, which has been pictured to the contemplation of a Gladstone.

WAR, LIFE, AND SOCIAL HEALTH.

WAR commences, and the London public revives the good old custom of damning bad plays. The coincidence has been remarked, and it is quite natural. During a season of long inaction, where many elements of human energy have been in abeyance—when the instincts of contest, will, love of danger, have been in repose—the home-keeping mind had a disposition to sink into acquiescence, to accept a quiet routine of life, and to let routine go on for its own sake. So long as the actors of one evening fulfilled the stage business of the previous evening, the languid audience was satisfied; the sole test of dramatic merit was carried, as that of all other merit has been, to the till; and if the receipts kept up, the acting, of course, was good, the play was respectable, and the audiences had no disposition, much less the right, to grumble. Nay, if the receipts dwindled very slowly, so that no sudden falling off could be fastened upon any particular actor or play-writer, commerce could not recognise the difference, and play-going, like national honour, the love of enterprise, of every chivalrous feeling, must dwindle day by day, and console itself with remembering that our cotton-manufacturers were exhibiting an inverse proportion of increase. War begins, and the damning of bad plays recommences; that is, the public is about to apply to subjects of art and aesthetics real tests of life and action.

We shall have similar results in other things. Already numbers are rushing to the seat of war for purposes better than mere curiosity. Some who think that peace is abandoned for a time over the entire field of Europe,—who feel that the independence, if not the existence of their own country, will rest upon the amount of energy still existing in her own people,—have gone to learn for themselves how man acts when he is called upon to face danger in its most formidable and gigantic aspect. It is not only military art, but patriotism, that Englishmen have gone to learn in the working model of the Turkish people, on the banks of the Danube. And although we have been accustomed to sneer at the Turk for a barbarian, there is something still so august and noble in any man that takes the sword in his right hand and steps forward to defend his country, even at the cost of life, that the Turk is a worthy teacher of the Englishman in the opportunity that has come to the Turk before it has reached the Englishman.

Some, too, have gone to learn how the blessings of science can be brought to mitigate the horrors that accompany war, by remedies for the wounded, and by better rule of military strength and administration in the rear of armies. To check the disorders that have formerly followed wars will be a grand improvement, not altogether unattempted. It is to be hoped that, in this regard, modern science and modern opinion will do justice to philosophy and to practical Christianity, by

showing that armies which fight for independence and freedom can sacrifice themselves, and secure their objects, without entailing devastation, spoliation, and degrading outrages upon those who live in the fields which the armies traverse. Let us leave outrage, rapine, and rape to Russian soldiers, and the soldiers of despotic outlawry; and let us show, as we have seen in recent times, that English soldiers can fight for freedom, without demanding to be indulged in hideous licenses.

Others have gone for purposes in some respects less momentous and practical, but yet not without a bearing on the progress of mankind. Many a man is there to bring back the raw material of history in telling how battles are fought and won, and how peoples demean themselves upon whose lands battles are fought out. Others have gone from this stagnant country to see the human form in its most vigorous action, to see the human soul stirred by all its deepest passion;—to see the vile conquered and trampled under foot by triumphant justice; to see the helpless assuage suffering by gentleness and patience; to see the heroic conquer danger, death, and defeat itself, by grandeur of purpose;—to see how man can bear himself when tried by the severest trials of his mortal destiny; how nations act when stirred by the passions of states. And, from viewing that great epoch in action, men will come back to civilised peace, and restore to art the life of which it has been deprived during long generations of inaction. We may expect, after war, that the tedious exhibition of simpering nonentities, which annually proclaim the stunted condition of art in this country, will be replaced by a more living reflex of life in action; not only because artists who seek the campaign with the instincts of their order will see the human frame in action; not because armies and combined peoples will simply be physical models for the mechanical copyist; but because Art will again live in an atmosphere of life, an atmosphere of passion,—in an atmosphere, in short, of healthy activity. Music, the art whose perfection belongs to our own day, is likely to receive an impulse as well as painting, and national music, which has nearly died out, will revive amidst the clang of arms; poetry will recover from its effeminate, contemplative supineness, and the peace which restores tranquillity to Europe, with, we trust, an access of constitutional freedom, will find the world, after the storm, living with renewed life on the restoration of peace.

Yes, war is a good, not only for its specific object, but absolutely, in itself, as an interruptor of that peace which, as all history shows, tends to render nations stagnant. The very "arts of peace" pine for want of stirring the national blood. Nations, like individuals, cannot develop all their power without suffering and trial; and as Triptolemus was tried in fire before he could earn greatness of soul to bring new arts to man, so England from time to time must renew the temper of her heart in the fierce fire of war.

INDIAN JUDGES.

THE future historian will turn with great interest to a pamphlet brought over by the last mail from India—the reply of the Bombay Association to the charges of the Sudder Adawlut. It has been said that the opinion of foreign countries, which stand removed from personal interests and local prejudices, is like that of a contemporary posterity. We should be the last to call England a foreign country as regards India; but certainly, if we have prejudices, they are not of a kind to make us judge too favourably of the natives; and thus we can at least judge with as little favour as posterity can. Although the pamphlet has not yet had the extensive circulation which it deserves, it has, so far as it has gone, created a very strong impression.*

It will be remembered that the judges of the Sudder Adawlut, referring to the twenty-second paragraph in the petition from the Bombay Association, on the subject of judicial grievances and law reforms, undertook to refute the statement made in that passage. They represent it as con-

* A Letter to the Government of Bombay, addressed by the Managing Committee of the Bombay Association, in reply to a Report invited by Government from the Judges of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, or the Honourable the East India Company's Supreme Court of Appeal at Bombay, regarding the accuracy of some of the complaints made by the Bombay Association, respecting the Administration of Justice in the Bombay Presidency, in their first petition to the Imperial Parliament. Published by the Bombay Association.

Bombay: Printed at the Bombay Education Society's Press.

taining four specific charges against the judicial system:—

"First, that courts of justice are handed over to those who have shown themselves the least qualified to collect the revenue; secondly, that it was consequently necessary to allow a number of appeals and reviews; thirdly, that a final decision is often not obtained for ten years, and rarely before three; and lastly, that litigation is most expensive, owing to the heavy stamps to which all law proceedings are subject."

The judges undertook to meet these charges by counter-statements and by returns, and the present pamphlet is the rejoinder of the Bombay Association. Nothing can be more complete. It differs from that reply of the judges in every respect. The judges pick out an isolated passage, and, separating it from its context, give to it much more the air of a studied and substantive attack upon the judicial system than it really deserved; and at the same time they deprive it of such explanation in spirit as it would derive from the context. The Bombay Association do just the reverse: they print the entire reply of the judges, which is therefore supplied for comparison with their own rejoinder, and the reader, collating the two, can judge at least how far the Bombay Association accurately represent the attacks which they are refuting.

The conduct of the judges, remarkably enough, is still more contrasted with this fair kind of controversy; for out of the passages which they cite they drop qualifying expressions, which seriously affect the meaning and define the statement. The first charge, for example, was not "that courts of justice are handed over to those who have shown themselves less qualified to collect the revenue of the State;" but that "it happens, in consequence of the present exclusive system, that the courts of justice will, as a general rule, be handed over, as at present, to those who have shown themselves least qualified to collect the revenue of the State;" a very different assertion. The judges endeavour to meet this assertion by showing the periods of service performed by 23 gentlemen in different departments, who hold appointments as judges and assistant judges on the 1st January, 1852; remarking that, with three exceptions, not one of them had ever held the appointment of acting collector, while of the three exceptions, two gentlemen served in the judicial line almost from their first arrival in India. It would be difficult to pack more fallacious and disingenuous suggestions into a short compass, than those which are compressed into this statement of the judges. It is no answer to the charge. The association did not complain that servants of the collectorate, whose ability was tested by promotion, were transferred to the judicial line; but the remark obviously included assistant collectors; and in the rejoinder it is shown that a number of gentlemen,—including Mr. Metcalfe Larken, one of the persons engaged in the judges' reply,—had served in the revenue line for five, eight, ten, or twelve years. At the same time it is admitted that the evil has been considerably mitigated in Bombay, by the efforts of a portion of the Government.

To prove that the result of placing the judicial powers in incompetent hands has not occasioned a number of appeals and reviews, the judges gave the total number of original suits and appeals in the last five years, showing a comparatively small number of appeals. But this return includes cases tried by judges whose qualifications had not been called in question, namely, the native judges, whose suits constituted, according to Colonel Sykes, nearly 93½ per cent. of the whole. The statement also includes cases in which there was no dispute at all, but a mere seeking of coercive powers, also cases amicably settled by compromise, cases decided upon agreement, cases stricken off the files in consequence of the plaintiffs' absence, and cases decided *ex parte*. To this statement the association replies by giving specific figures of the appeals from the courts of the Zillah judges, and from the assistant judges, during the years 1850-1; showing a proportion of reversals ranging nearly about one-half.

The judges attempt to disprove the long duration of suits by the same kind of indiscriminate citation of the returns, for they gave an average of all suits, including those *ex parte*, those decided by settlement, &c.; which would evidently reduce the average. But the most practical point of the charge was not the duration of suits in the Zillah courts, but the delay of "a final decision," and the calculation of course included the appeals. Yet even here averages are fallacious,

since the average duration of appeals before the Sudder judges, which is three years, six months, and 24 days, covers an actual duration, in many separate instances, of longer periods.

The refutation of the reply on the point of expenses involves too many figures for us to enter upon: suffice it to say, that by citing official documents in detail, the Association fully establish their real position; showing in various ways that the average cost of stamps ranges from ten to fourteen per cent.; but that on by far the larger number of suits, nearly 93 per cent. of the whole, involving property of a very small amount, the percentage may rise to really exorbitant proportions.

As a rejoinder this is complete. The whole case on the judges' side is met by bringing forward additional information in detail. Thus the truth is brought out, and speaks for itself. But the reply is more important, perhaps, for its collateral evidence, than for its downright knock-down refutation of the judges. It fully bears out the character of the whole proceedings on the part of the Bombay Association. It is strictly matter of fact. The judges are not answered by insinuations, or by general and allusive constructions, but by plain statements of things as they are, with the detail cited in full, or exemplified by specific instances. It is true that the pamphlet leaves an impression on the mind that the judges are disingenuous, unfair, transparent in their dishonesty, routed in position, and almost blasted in character; but this is derived from the force of the facts stated, and not at all from any aspersions made by the writers of the pamphlet. This is excellent, as showing the self-possession of those who lead the Association; but it does more: it proves not only that the Association are strong in the knowledge of a sound cause, but also that they are perfect masters of controversy on public affairs, and that they perfectly understand the character of the tribunal to which they appeal in the last resort—English public opinion. We may say that they will not be disappointed. Expositions of this kind, so far as they are read, will be received as belonging to the very highest character of political statement, and as proving that those amongst whom they originated are thoroughly qualified to understand, if not to administer, the affairs of any country. It is on these grounds, as well as the value of the contribution to an important controversy, that we hail these successive proofs of masterly ability displayed by the managers of the Bombay Association.

THE BELGIAN GIRL, "PARLIAMENT HOUSE," AND "THE CLUBS."

UNDERNEATH the world which we inhabit, the social surface warmed by the sun of prosperity, or troubled by the storms of adversity which have their own life, there is a subterranean world, whose prosperity is foul, whose adversity is lifeless, and whose whole character is revolting. The existence of this subterranean world is sometimes denied. Society so generally consents to be silent on the subject, that it takes its own silence for a final truth, and learns to think that what it never talks about, never is. So strong is this feeling in many, that if the truth be openly told it is indignantly denied. Break up the surface at any one point, showing what is beneath, and the denizen of "society," disliking to have his confidence disturbed, tells you that it is only "an exceptional case." The stench and smoke which burst from the crevice that opens at your feet belong only to that one particular hole, and are not the effusion of a broad volcanic region. So says the man of "society," because to think of that seething mass beneath the feet of himself and fellows, troubles the quietism of his soul. He would rather disbelieve than try to remedy; partly because the task of remedy would be too gigantic for his conception, because he would rather not take the trouble, as it would disturb his own quiet enjoyment of that which he gets, and because he has, nevertheless, a lurking fear and loathing—as at night men shudder to think of things they laughingly deny by day.

Nevertheless, the evil is too general, too positive, and convulsive in its nature, to be constantly suppressed. Sometimes it will burst out, and at so many points, that the "exceptional case" appears to have a broad, if not an universal basis. London ordinarily is quiet, except in "low" neighbourhoods; for the community acts with regard to crime as it does with regard to other things declared to be "improper," or "unfit for publica-

tion" and "conversation"—it puts crime out of sight and acts as if crime were not.

Polite society, therefore, keeps its own streets pure and well watched, and crime is driven to low neighbourhoods. Customs vary in different countries; they vary also in different streets; but there is a certain conformity even in crime, and "society" is not troubled so long as a given number of culprits of different ages persevere in the offences which are their annual due. So many little boys and girls under a given age may pick pockets; so many youths of older stature may steal on a larger scale; so many adults may commit highway robbery, beat their wives, murder their fellow-creatures, and commit other recognised breaches of the law, without disturbing society, so long as there is no novelty in the denomination of the offence, or no striking increase above the average. It is only the "original sin," says the orthodox divine, and Society, acting upon a principle the reverse of that which guides the pianoforte maker, does not spread the sum of the discord—"the wolf"—over the whole surface, so as to dilute it, but packs it all up in particular districts or classes—and tries to forget. Upon the whole, by keeping them ignorant, we secure that the poor shall constitute the scapegoat, and bear the mass of the "original sin," about which we hear sermons before dinner on Sunday.

Occasionally, however, the accumulated vice bursts out at some unrecognised point, or discloses cavernous communications between the ordinary craters of society and those spots which are supposed to be its most placid and smiling fields. A case has just occurred. A young girl, who is described as beautiful, escapes from a house where she has been detained, in a low neighbourhood, and takes refuge amongst some foreigners: she is a Belgian, who has been decoyed over to England, placed in a depot for supplying with virgins that monster of English society who is typified by the novelist as "Lord Skeyne," and is better known by some noble names of real life. The girl's story is, that she has been forcibly subjected to prostitution, and afterwards forcibly made the toy of criminal triflers, who would be shocked to be arraigned for a capital offence, and would far more dread public exposure of their own habits than the silken halter which they might claim as the privilege of their order. The case is to be further investigated. The girl's manner has the appearance of ingenuousness, and her very imperfections of speech,—her imperfect knowledge of English customs and institutions,—gives additional probability to what she does say. It is with less surprise than horror and disgust that Englishmen can understand her allusions to certain places of distinguished resort. The woman, whose agent had decoyed the girl over, instructed that agent to apprise certain gentlemen and lords,—to carry the intelligence of her new prize to "the clubs;" but he advised her to wait until the opening of the session and the assembling at "Parliament House."

We have before dismissed with indignation libellous attacks upon individuals, evidently invented by wretches bent upon extorting money. In this case the accuser has all the aspect of innocence. Her immediate wrongers are evidently criminal; and if allusions to "Parliament House" and "the Clubs" are "no evidence," it is possible, we ask, to say that the inferences shrouded in such allusions are impossible? No! in spite of its systematic incredulity and ignominy, society does know the foul volcanic elements which sometimes stir under its feet, and although it will not talk, does not quite disbelieve.

SMITH O'BRIEN PARDONED:

HOW THEN ABOUT FROST AND WILLIAMS?

No one will withhold from Government a hearty approval of the pardon accorded to Mr. Smith O'Brien. We have never been amongst those who claimed for Mr. O'Brien an immunity to be granted by the very Government which he sought to subvert. But really there is no longer any motive for detaining him, and there were some for releasing him. Of all the many Irish conspirators he was the honestest, the least malignant, the most misled by a heated imagination, and in fact the most harmless. The others have escaped from Van Diemen's Land by breaking their parole, and it seems hard to detain the man whose continual imprisonment resulted solely from his refusing to share the dishonourable conduct which stains those men. If the Irish

people have recently shown, by the enthusiasm with which they have come to the national standard, that there was no need to buy their goodwill by any subservience to old agitations, the spontaneous act of grace is a proof that the goodwill of the Irish is reciprocated in high quarters. It is a wise and generous act.

But there are other political prisoners in Australia, and almost everything that is said in favour of Mr. Smith O'Brien can be said in favour of John Frost, Zephaniah Williams, and their associates—with two distinctions. We do not know that those men can compete with Mr. Smith O'Brien in pedigree; we do know that he cannot compete with them in application to laudable industry under a hard life. If the Irish people have shown good-will, so have the English; if an act of spontaneous grace can tell favourably on the Irish people, so would it tell also upon the English people; who have at least the same sense of generosity at heart which the Irish are more quick to demonstrate.

THE LANCASHIRE STRIKES AND LOCK-OUT.

IV. THE OPERATIVE.

WHEN inquirers treat men as abstractions, and generalise upon classes of men, they are usually guilty of great injustice and many inaccuracies. To speak of the Operatives as of a class composed entirely of persons animated by like impulses, and surrounded by exactly similar circumstances, endowed with the same natural gifts, and enjoying the advantages of the same cultivation, would be to commit the glaring absurdity of those who fulminate wholesale condemnations against sects in religion and parties in politics; nevertheless, nothing is more common than to hear those who busy themselves, in a dilettante way about the condition of the people, speak of "the operative" in precisely the same tone which a naturalist assumes when he lectures about "the monkey" or "the hippopotamus." Yet no one can have studied the working-classes to much advantage, without immediately perceiving that they differ amongst themselves as widely and as essentially as any other great division of the social system. They have their distinctions and their circles, their fashionable and their vulgar, their respectable and their disreputable, their serious and their worldly folk, even their rich and their poor, as strongly defined and as strictly observed as among any grade of the superior classes. In a single mill this feeling of classification may be found perfectly developed. After the managers, the overlookers, and the clothworkers, who are persons in authority, and the dressers, who earn a high rate of wages and are often very superior men, the general body of operatives form themselves into classes and range themselves, by common consent, into a sort of social gradation. The most fashionable class of operatives in a mill, is generally thought to be the winders. It is the task of these young ladies to wind the twist upon bobbins, previous to the construction of the warp, and as this is an operation requiring great neatness and cleanliness, combined with no little skill, to be a winder is held to be a certificate for the possession of all those estimable qualities. Generally speaking, the winders are very well paid, often making from twelve to sixteen shillings per week; they take the lead of the mill in matters relating to dress, and unless they chance to have relatives at the looms, usually associate only with those of their own class, and would deem it unworthy of their position to mix with the Card Room hands. These last form the lowest grade of mill-hands, and it is in these ranks that the Irish immigrants generally enlist. With the exception of *Roving*, there is no operation in the Card Room which requires any very great amount of skill, and it probably takes less instruction to make an average hand there, than in any other department of the mill. To this must be added the important consideration that the work is dirtier than in the other branches, dust and cotton fluff flying about in great abundance, and interfering with the personal cleanliness of the operative. Even in the Card Room itself, we find that the easiest and dirtiest work is that which is most despised, for of all the operatives in a mill, no one meets with less consideration from her fellows than the *Devil-tenter*,—she whose only duty it is to supply the machine called the *Devil* with raw cotton, and to remove the same when it has been cleansed thereby.

This sense of distinction, which is commendable in itself, and begets a spirit of progress and emulation, is often found to exist between the operatives in different mills. When a certain mill gets a character

* The *Devil* is a sort of *Willow* machine, used for removing the grosser particles of dirt, seeds, stalk, and other impurities from the raw cotton. The name is probably derived from the diabolical ferocity with which it seizes the cotton, tears it to pieces, and then tortures and whirls it about in proportion to its impurity.

for taking none but the best hands, it becomes an object of ambition to enter that mill, irrespective of any nice calculations as to slightly advanced earnings. To have worked there is a certificate of skill and good conduct of far greater moment to the hand than the immediate advantage of increased pay, and we cannot, therefore, be surprised at finding that the favourite-mills are not always those which pay the highest average earnings. This feeling was very significantly expressed by a weaver, who, during the "Lock-out," has been working at an establishment which has been paying the advanced prices. Knowing that she had been accustomed to work in a mill which is justly celebrated for its advantages, the querist asked her how she liked her new place. With a contemptuous toss of the head, she replied: "Wall, its joost loike flitting from Fishergate to Marsh-lane."

It is curious to observe how far the feelings of the operatives towards each other are influenced by the respect universally accorded to superior skill and intelligence, and to notice the tone, almost approaching reverence, with which they speak of any very high qualifications for their particular art. Speaking of his wife, a man said to me:—"There's not a man i' Preston can wave loike her. I too can wave my yed off." Certainly, the difference in skill is very remarkable, and there are degrees of dexterity which no practice or assiduity could ever enable the generality of operatives to acquire. One man, now a very influential Unionist, worked four looms in Blackburn, without the assistance of a tenter; in addition to which, he taught at an evening school, and cultivated practical mathematics to such good purpose that he is now reputed to be one of the best calculators in Lancashire.

Animated by all those sentiments which inspire men with a desire to rise—ambition, a keen perception of social distinction, and an admiration for superior industry and skill—it is not surprising that the operatives should bring them to bear upon their own positions in very different degrees; that some of them should be careful and industrious, others idle and thoughtless; that some should be modest and sober, others prodigal and dissolute; that some should lay by the foundations of wealth, others sow the seeds of misery. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain an exact account of the savings effected by the working classes; but a few facts, that have come within my knowledge, are sufficient to prove that they are not inconsiderable.

In Preston there are eleven Building Societies, and one Freehold Land Society; one Savings Bank, one District Provident Society and Sick Club, Benefit Societies, Societies of Freemasons, Odd-Fellows, Druids, Foresters, and Rechabites too numerous to mention. In all these Societies, with the exception of the District Provident Society, the operatives are so mixed up with the general public, that it would be impossible, from any examination of their accounts, to extract a correct statement of the funds subscribed by that particular class; but the District Provident Society carries on its operations exclusively among the poorer classes of mill-hands, and its accounts furnish some interesting details as to the saving habits of these people. The District Provident Society sends visitors to the cottages of the operatives, to persuade them into entrusting a weekly mite to the care of the Society. If these sums are left with the Society for a longer period than three months, they are augmented in the proportion of a farthing per shilling, per week; if for a longer period than six months, the rate is increased to a halfpenny per shilling, per week. These augmentations are supplied by subscriptions made among the townspeople, the clergy, gentry, and mill-owners contributing very handsomely. In the year 1851, 1308*l.* was so deposited. From a statement now before me, taken from the memorandum-book of one of the visitors, some idea may be gathered as to the inroads made by the "Lock-out" upon these little savings. It would seem that the sums collected by that one visitor from August, 1852, to October, 1853, amount, upon an average, to twenty pounds per month, and that the number of depositors during the same period was ninety per month; during the four months of the "Lock-out," the average collection of the same visitor has been seven pounds per month, and the number of depositors only thirty per month.

A gentleman who has the sole management of three very important building societies, has been good enough, after a very careful analysis of his books, to furnish me with the following interesting report:—

"In the month of August, 1853, I find that there were 123 members in the building societies of which I have the management, who were solely engaged in the cotton-mills. The united deposits of these members amounted to nearly 3000*l.* Since that time 60 of those members have wholly withdrawn, and upwards of 1000*l.* has been received by them. Of the remaining 63 members, the main portion of them have ceased paying until the mills resume work, the

club allowing the payments to cease without fines. Prior to August, I generally admitted at each fortnightly meeting six persons engaged in the cotton business, which supply has now wholly ceased. Taking into consideration the amount withdrawn during the 'lock-out,' the amount which would have been paid by the members who have ceased paying, and the loss of new members, I should fix the deficit at nearly 5000*l.*"

As these facts refer to only three out of eleven building societies, some faint idea may be gathered of the terrible inroads made by the "Lock-outs" into those humble savings which might one day have raised their owners above their present position in the social scale.

It will be seen, then, that the operatives have both the power and the will to effect very considerable savings, and that they do so, appears to be a very sufficient answer to those who love to look upon the gloomy side of the picture, and to regard the condition of the operative as pitiable in every respect. When such persons refer to the days of the Dutch loom and the one-thread spinning-wheel as the golden age of cotton-spinning, it is necessary to remind them that, although the wages of individual workers might have been more, the gross earnings of the working classes were incalculably less; that living was then more costly even than now; and, above all, that those children who then cumbered the house in idleness may all now find profitable employment in the factories. A century ago, the father, by his individual labour, might perhaps earn from a pound to thirty shillings per week, but then his family was comparatively unproductive; whilst in the present day it is no uncommon thing for the aggregate earnings of a family to reach four pounds per week, or even more.

But if some of the operatives save money, others do the very reverse, by getting into debt. Drink among the men, and love of finery among the women, dissipate what otherwise would make a very comfortable store against the rainy day. The extent to which the latter passion is indulged in would be perfectly incredible to those who have never seen the factory people at their festivities, or even as they spend Sunday. To obtain the means of purchasing feathers, artificial flowers, Birmingham jewellery, cheap silks, and cotton velvet, the factory lass will be content to live upon meal porridge throughout the week, and it is well if her sacrifices to fashion are confined to giving up her meals. When Mr. Cowell said that if the operatives were better paid, they would give a stimulus to the Spitalfields' silk trade, he uttered a severer criticism upon the habits of his clients than he was aware of. The jerry-shop and the haberdasher's have hitherto been the most dangerous of the rocks upon which the factory operatives have gone to ruin.

Another monstrous evil to be noticed, is the habit of purchasing goods upon credit. If the tradesmen were to set their faces resolutely against the custom it could at once be put an end to; but, as in the University-town so in the Factory-town, the race of competition is keen, and no man has the courage to risk his own business for the sake of working out a practical reform.

From one cause or another it may be safely estimated that, even in the best of times, one-half of the operative population are in debt, and how far they are excusable in being so may be imagined from the following case, which is by no means exceptional. A single family in Preston, consisting of a father, two daughters, and four lads, takes home weekly from the mill at which they work *eighty-five shillings and sixpence*. The sum is made up thus:

Father, a spinner.....	35 0
Two daughters, in the card-room, 11 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> each	22 6
Elddest lad, a piecer.....	11 0
Three lads, in the card-room, 5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each	16 6
	85 0

Yet this family is in debt to the extent of more than fifty pounds.

One great cause of this improvidence is undoubtedly the deplorable want of a proper education among the factory operatives, and how far this want exists may be inferred from the unquestionable fact, that not more than one-third of them can read and write; whilst the proportion of those who have received any training at all worthy of being called an education is infinitely smaller. Not that there is any lack of schools and school machinery, or that the clergy are remiss in their duty by neglecting to persuade parents into letting their children enjoy the benefits of these; the fault lies in the people themselves. Such is the blinded eagerness to make their children profitable, that a very common offence against the law throughout the manufacturing districts is the falsification of baptismal certificates, in order to transgress the limit assigned by act of Parliament as the earliest period of admission to factory labour. Under the Factory Acts, children between the ages of eight and thirteen are admissible into factories as half-timers, working six hours a day; but it is incumbent upon the employers to ensure their being sent to school: after thirteen they are permitted to enter the factory and work upon full time, and so

* To understand the force of this simile, the reader should understand that Fishergate is the principal street, and Marsh-lane the lowest quarter in Preston.

further surveillance over them is compulsory. The consequence of this system is that, just when they are beginning to feel the benefit of an elementary training, they are removed from its influence, and we may feel assured that nothing short of the most assiduous and kind persuasion, the most patient and conciliatory solicitude, will attract those to the evening school, who, in the earliest stages of youth and inexperience, are thus thrust into a position of independence, with the means and opportunities of yielding to every fable and pandering to every fancy. In all the towns of the Cotton District (and Preston is no exception to this) there is an universal complaint of a want of decent young females to act as domestic servants; and this is entirely attributable to the superior attractions of the factory-life. Families whose servants live in a state of luxury far surpassing anything that can be attained by an operative complain that whenever they import a decent girl from the agricultural districts she is immediately tempted into the mill. Liberty is sweet to all, and to none more so than to the Lancashire lass. After six o'clock, the factory girl is free as air to do whatsoever she pleases. She enjoys, moreover, an unquestioned right to exercise her own taste in the selection of her apparel (a right not often conceded to the domestic servant), and she knows nothing of those delicate points of interference implied by the words, "No followers allowed."

The only persons who have any power to ameliorate this state of things, by infusing a more complete system of education, are the Master Manufacturers of the Cotton District, and although much has hitherto been done by them, much that redounds to their honour, a great task still remains to be performed. One successful experiment I have witnessed, and that may serve to show what is possible to the rest. In one of the largest establishments in Yorkshire, employing altogether about 3000 hands, I saw 500 half-timers, 250 of whom were at work in the mills, and 250 receiving the basis of a sound education in a school established by the firm, and assembled in a building forming part of the mill. The head-master of that school was paid upon a much more liberal scale than an average curate of the Established Church, and the details of the system would have satisfied the keenest educational critic. The head of the firm informed me that many of the full-timers then in their employ had been educated in that school, and that he hoped to see the day when the same might be said of all of them. There were evening schools for the full-timers, and evening classes for the adults; there were sick clubs, and benefit clubs, and clothing clubs among the hands; and all these schools, and classes, and institutions, in all of which the operatives were materially assisted by their employers, had tended so to bind the whole community together, and to infuse such a spirit of intelligence and good-will, that for more than a quarter of a century that firm had had no dispute with their operatives. Common sense declares that such a course could lead to no other result.

In Preston, a few such experiments have been tried, but not upon a very large scale, and certainly not with any conspicuous success. A leading and highly respectable firm established schools, in connexion with their mill, some years ago, but they do not seem to have been very successful. I am informed that these schools were founded upon sectarian principles, and that they possibly afford some explanation of the failure. Generally speaking, however, the masters in this district seem to have contented themselves with leaving matters to take their ordinary course, and to have believed that their duties terminated when the engine stopped, and the mechanical toils of the day were over. Of the fatal consequences of this policy, they themselves have lately had what ought to be very convincing experience. Where ignorance has been sown, wisdom cannot be reaped; and if the Preston operatives have exhibited a want of knowledge of the commonest principles of political economy, if they have been unreasonable in their demands, and too prone to give an attentive ear to men but little better informed than themselves, the Preston masters have no right to complain of these things, without at the same time confessing that they themselves have been a little remiss in doing what it was both their duty and their interest to perform. JAMES LOWE.

PAN-HELLENISM AND PAN-SCLAVISM IN TURKEY.

I.

THE ILLYRIAN TRIANGLE, in other words, the country included between the Danube and Cape Matapan, between the Adriatic and the Black Sea, is not inhabited by a homogeneous population. The Government of St. Petersburg, coveting the possession of Turkey, is accustomed to contrast with the "insignificant minority" of Mahometan Osmanlis the immense majority of Christians, Slave and Greek. If we believe the members of the Pan-Hellenist and Pan-Sclavist Propaganda, there are in Turkey "two

great oppressed races," of which one is allied to Russia by the bond of orthodoxy, and the other by the double union of faith and blood. The facile conclusion of this way of talking is: that the Turks must be driven out, the "oppressed majority" be emancipated, and the Russian Protectorate erected at Constantinople.

There are, unfortunately, even English ministers who have allowed their reason to be poisoned by these doctrines, on which rest the dark designs of a diplomacy which for ever nurses an afterthought of "dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire." It is therefore worth while to analyse with some particularity these "Slave and Greek" populations, of which the ambition of the Czar, and the folly of his dupes, would fain construct a lever to break up Turkey.

If there be one fact more than another which arrests the attention of the observer in the ethnological situation of the countries of the Balkan and the Danube, it is the inextricable mixture of races. Self-evident is the impossibility of forming these into states of homogeneous populations, except by parceling out the Illyrian Triangle into miserable patches, for an easy prey to Russia. It demands either the ignorance of a dupe or the shameless audacity of an agent of the Russian and Orthodox-Greek Propaganda, to represent these populations under the aspect of a preponderant Slavism and Hellenism. Nothing can be more opposed to the truth. In European Turkey there are not less than six principal races in juxtaposition, intermixed, enclosed in one another. There are,

- The Turkish race (Osmanlis);
- The Latin race (Moldo-Wallachia);
- The Slavo-Tartar race (Bulgaria, Thrace, Macedonia);
- The Sclavie race (Serbia and Bosnia);
- The Shkipetar race (Albania);
- and lastly,
- The Greek race.

Beginning with the kingdom of Greece Proper, we meet in the first place the Hellenic element. But this element is far from being the descendant of ancient Hellas. The researches of Orientalists of European authority prove to demonstration that not only has the population of the Greek kingdom been compulsorily intermixed with the Slavonic hordes, but that into the very heart of Greece Proper, into Attica itself, into the Peloponneseus the Shkipetar race has thrust its wedge.* This Shkipetar, or Albanian race, is neither Greek nor Slave, but of unknown origin, and altogether abnormal appearance. According to Fallmerayer, the Albanian element forms in the Peloponneseus the majority of that agricultural population which is still double-speeched; while the towns are neo-Greek. It is an historical fact that the Albanians have been the most inveterate enemies of the "Hellenist" insurrections, which Russia, in the reign of Catherine II., stirred up by Alexis Orloff, and Pappas Oglu, and under Alexander by the Hetairia, which held its secret sessions in Russian territory. On the classic soil of Attica, too, the Albanian element there predominant, we know has shown itself in our own time, hostile to the rising of the Greeks. The Pan-Hellenism which endeavours to snatch from Turkey the provinces bordering on the Greek kingdom, should be strangled at its birth. Pan-Hellenism talks of reviving ancient Greece; and it so happens that the citizens of Athens and the warriors of Sparta have no grandsons! We might as well talk of reviving in Great Britain the kingdom of Queen Cartismandua; but who would consider such a project either reasonable or possible?

Traversing the northern boundary of Greece Proper, we enter upon the Turkish territory in Epirus and in Albania. There, too, predominates to the left of the Pindus and the Bova-Dagh the Shkipetar race, which we have already said is of abnormal origin, foreign to all the races of Europe. It would be clever enough of the emissaries of Athens and St. Petersburg to prove the consanguinity of the Albanians with the Greeks and the Russians.

On the Albanian boundary, then, the Greek kingdom is bordered by an anti-Greek race. But in the direction of Thessaly Hellenism has no better chance. In the mountain crossway which separates Albania, Macedonia, and Thessaly, we encounter first a Wallachian (Latin) tribe, which has its centre at Mazzovo, and speaks a corrupt Italian. This tribe is curiously interspersed. Thessaly itself, Thessaly, that sits under the regard of the eternal Olympus, presents Turkish features. The Turkish character of Thessaly appears in all its force in the cities. It was into this province that the Seldshukian Turks were first invited by the Christians, to serve as a military colony against the invasion of the Servian chieftains. Indeed, Thessaly became under the Turkish sway an asylum of every persecuted faith, and of all the oppressed; it was exempt from contributions, and enjoyed a large measure of self-government and of independence till the reforms of Sultan Mahmoud. It is not to be wondered at that this country should

have assimilated itself more than any other to the race of the Ottomans, protectors of Thessaly.

If the pretensions of Greece to Albania and to Thessaly be ill-founded, she has no better claim upon Macedonia. Macedonia, Thrace, and Bulgaria form a group, of which the essential substratum is the Tartar race, intermixed with Slavonic tribes. Bulgaria is often called the heel of the Balkan, which stretches towards the Danube. But, ethnographically speaking, the Bulgarian element comprises Thrace and Macedonia also. We will not undertake to define the multiform amalgamations which modify the Bulgarian element by so many shades of difference.

The Turkish race, which concentrates itself towards Constantinople, contributes its share; near the Danube, the Roumanians and the Servians mingle with it; in Macedonia, the Greeks give the nuance. The sophists of the Czar are wont to trace with a broad pencil line a "Slavonic nationality," supposed to embrace the countries between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. The truth is, that Bulgaria differs, as white from black, from Serbia; the difference between the Servian and his Bulgarian neighbour is marked in all the habits of life, in all that concerns industrial occupations and warlike instincts. The physiognomy of Bulgaria, it is true, has received features of Slavism, of Grecism, of Roumanism, and of Osmanism; but the deeper aspects of the four races are essentially different. Another group contiguous to Bulgaria is that of Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkish Croatia, the Herzegovina, and Montenegro. In this group the Slavonic race predominates. But on a closer inspection some of these populations will be found to be a rather varied mixture, in which, no doubt, the Slavonic element is conspicuous, but in which Nubians, Hungarians, Turks, Greeks, &c., form a remarkable ingredient. It is in Serbia only that the Slavonic element is found most free from adulteration: and it is to Serbia that the Pan-Sclavist conspiracies gravitate.

Contiguous to the Slavonic race of Serbia, we find the Latin race of the Moldo-Wallachians. By a happy geographical disposition, the Roumanians of the Danubian provinces are interposed between the ambition of the Czar and the South-Slavonian tribes, of which the Russian Government has made a political instrument and an engine of war. The Roumanians intercept all contiguity between the Slavonians of Russia and those of the Danube. To establish the connexion, it has been the constant effort of the Czars to occupy as often as possible the Danubian provinces as a "material guarantee" of the progress of Pan-Sclavist intrigues. Not long ago Roumania extended to Bukowina (Austria), and to Bessarabia (Russia). As soon as the army of the Czar has been expelled the Danubian provinces, the boundaries of Roumania should be pushed to Bessarabia again.

The statistical census of the Ottoman empire is generally made in a Russian sense, and without marking very accurately all these diversified amalgamations. Nevertheless, even following the gross calculations which are not favourable to the Turks, we find in European Turkey 1,200,000 inhabitants of the Osman race; 1,000,000 of the Greek race; 1,600,000 of the Shkipetar race; 4,000,000 of the Turko-Bulgarian, Slavo-Bulgarian, and Greco-Bulgarian race; 3,000,000 of the Slavonic and Illyrian race; 4,000,000 of the Roumanian race; and almost 1,000,000 Armenians, Gipsies, Jews, Franks, &c. Accepting the above calculation, we must not forget that these different races occupy incongruous positions, and that they are broken up, scattered, and huddled together in an inextricable confusion.

Out of this confusion the political romancers of the Russian Government create an unity destined to overthrow the Government of Constantinople. The mantle of the Orthodox Papacy is broad enough, forsooth, to cover all inequalities. The Pan-Sclavists and their brothers in the trade, the Pan-Hellenists, decorate this Christian union with too national colour.

The simpletons of all Europe sit down in admiration before the artificial Russo-Greek puppet, and cry out upon the Turkish "intruder!" All will be peace and unity when the Turk shall have recrossed the Bosphorus.

How they must enjoy the joke at St. Petersburg!

V

THE PROGRESS OF INDIA—ITS OBSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR REMEDIES.

(FIRST ARTICLE.)

NONE would willingly choose the day of anxious and excited action for an extended inquiry, however nearly the subject of inquiry concerned the issue of the action; and yet, if no such inquiry had been effected, it must even then be attempted, though with all the disturbances and disadvantages of action; or all may be left to a blind and uncalculated chance, of which failure constitutes the greatest probability.

On the eve of a European war we should not enter on an investigation of the principles which govern our relations with India, but for our belief both that

* Fallmerayer. Fragments from the East.

those principles are yet much misunderstood, and that those relations affect very deeply the vitality of our commerce, and the amount of our national strength. If war really take place, and continue as long as now seems probable, our changed position will render India more important to us than ever; we shall need it both as a customer supplying the elements of resources which protracted warfare will require, and as a faithful political member of the confederacy which will not be too strong for its part in the coming battle of right. If war could possibly be averted without prejudice to right, then the interests of peace, scarcely less grave though less clamorous than the necessities of war, would call for these investigations by means of consequences nothing else can avert. Nor would an intervening period of war require or justify the postponing of those vital, and, therefore, gradual efforts and reforms which returning peace should find already in operation, or for want of which even peace itself will be fraught to us with but half its competence of blessings.

It affords some gratification to know that our relations with India now receive an amount of attention on the part of the general public which was not conceded to them only a few years ago. This general and popular attention has a necessity from which no ability of merely official management, however great, can absolve us; but it is as yet rather a vague and indistinct belief that there is something important in the matter, than a clear and intelligent apprehension of what is required to be done, of the way to do it, or of the results to be expected. The progress made, however, is in the right direction. It is no longer supposed that India is a peculiar world, inhabited by its own abnormal human nature, subject to unintelligible moral idiosyncracies and foreign intellectual laws; we have therefore ceased to believe that its politics and its industrial condition are beyond our own comprehension. We find, indeed, we have yet very much to learn, and scarcely less to unlearn; still, having at length admitted India within our conceptions of the general humanity, we are no longer without canons of judgment, however difficult it may be to apply them. Many of us can remember the time, now passing away or past, when it was supposed that India could only be dealt with by men who, besides a sufficient knowledge of facts, had acquired also a peculiar jargon of thought, and when, therefore, it was necessary that the world outside should let the matter alone.

This unfounded assumption of the special and mysterious character of Indian affairs is of very long standing, and was maintained for generations by the fundamental principle of our Indian policy. Our Indian commerce originated in the very last days of Elizabeth, and received its character from those of James, when monopolies were the great abuse of the day, the chief characteristic of the times. To prosper, it was then held on all hands to be necessary to shut out all others from the field. It is true that even then those tendencies of human nature which issue in free trade did not fail to assert themselves with more or less effect, and that at a later period Cromwell essayed to establish an open trade with the East, and was only foiled in doing so by the political situation of the time. Yet India was practically sealed to the public of England, as far as law could seal it, from the earliest formation of the East India Company in 1600, down to 1813, or more properly to 1833. The extent, however, of our conquests in India from 1800 to 1817, the urgency for greater outlets for British manufactures which arose during the same period, the increase even of such interests as the law then permitted to exist, and subsequently the extension of intercourse attributable to steam navigation, brought about a state of things of which the commercial relaxations of 1813, and the final opening of the trade in 1833, were but the consequences put into legal form. England in general now knows more of India than ever she knew before; but the traces of two centuries of exclusion still in great part remain.

In this matter, or in any other we may discuss, we are not about to visit the East India Company with hasty, still less with exclusive blame, any more than we should charge on the present manufacturers of Lancashire the ultra-Protectionist doctrines of their grandfathers. Until of late, monopoly was universally believed in as the specific of commercial success; and the East India Company, at any given date, was but an homogeneous section of the men of the time. Nevertheless it is perfectly true that even our present relations with India still remain deeply and disadvantageously affected by the former exclusive privileges of the East India Company; and it is no less true or important that the exclusive tendencies of that Company have not ceased with the cessation of its mercantile character. It changes its men but slowly, and its habits more slowly still; and while we gladly admit that on subjects not immediately related to any present discussion it affords information when sought of it with a liberality of which the public in general have little idea, it is still true that it shrinks from publicity in its actual discussions and transactions as sensitively as though it were still a trader; nor is the Board of Control, as yet, any advance on the Company in this respect. And while

the Company's services contain men of the most enlarged views, who willingly aid any effort for the improvement of the country whoever may make it, yet they also have still in them some officers who exhibit a restlessness under the extension of private enterprise which can only be derived from the notions of former times.

It would carry us too far from our present object to show that the recent changes in the constitution of the East India Company, to the lowering of its power preparatory to its final extinction, are a consequence, not of proved misapplication of power on its part, but of the absence of that popular support which cannot be invoked for the nonce in the hour of extremity, and which it had failed to lay up for itself as time went on. Men who had been labouring conscientiously and with success within its unvisited and unventilated bounds, were surprised, in the day of trial, to find that nobody cared to continue or even to acknowledge their services. It falls, not from having done wrong, but from possessing no friends,—no such friends as openness of discussion and widespread participation in its doings could alone create,—openness such as it has often employed extraordinary official cleverness to evade. Hence we have this strange spectacle—a body whose acts, when fairly and closely examined, will bear comparison with those of any other government in the world, falls as though it was condemned on the heaviest charges, while yet, in fact, it is substantially unaccused. Its final resistance was ludicrously feeble, for it had no supporters; and its fate is little lamented, for its merits are almost unknown.

If our industrial enterprises in India are to be engrafted on this governmental system, they cannot escape the operation of the same causes of decay. We do not, however, now pursue this remark, or further dwell on the sensitive seclusion to which we have adverted; they present particular cases of the evil we shall have to discuss under other aspects. We wish just now rather to call attention to the facts that our knowledge of India has increased with our intercourse,—that that intercourse has increased either from causes altogether independent of the Government, or from proceedings of the Government (such as extended conquest, &c.), not intended to have any such effect,—that the difficulties still preventing a sufficient knowledge of India are those arising from the gross imperfection of the means of intercourse,—and that that imperfection, although yet far from being removed from the means of transit between England and India, chiefly lies at present in the internal transit of India itself.

Further, since the remedy of political evils depends on the intelligence of the public opinion from which the Government springs,—since the Government of India mainly springs from, and is ultimately controlled by, the public opinion of England, and not so much by that of India itself,—and since the knowledge which England possesses of India is limited and distorted through want of the means of intercourse, it seems at once easy and safe to conclude that to remedy the want of the means of internal transit is to take the first necessary step to the political improvement of India. But there is much more to be said. If public opinion in England is yet but half awake in respect of India, it is because England has no such extended interests in India as due means of internal transit alone can create. If the industrial productiveness of India contrasts so remarkably to its discredit with that of other countries, and is so disproportionate to its own population and capabilities, it is clear that the chief primary cause now in operation is want of the means of internal transit. If our own commercial intercourse with India is small beyond endurance, and even beyond safety to our own commercial system, the fact is distinctly traceable and has been traced* to the want of means of internal transit. And if amongst all our commercial wants there is one more urgent than another, a want which India can supply but does not,—that of cotton,—we still have only another consequence of the same absence of the means of internal transit.†

To day these statements sound like truisms: not long ago, however, they were disputed, and sometimes derided. First it was said India needed no roads, for they would be useless; then that they could not be made, or would not pay; then that in some parts at least India had them. We remember one of the most eminent and estimable of the older servants of the East India Company, then its Chairman, making a public statement respecting cotton in India, which shewed that with all his advantages, he had missed the truth of the question, and that his official colleagues were unable to correct him. We have advanced, however, beyond all this. Public attention is now fixed to some extent on the necessity both for means of transit, and for other territorial works in India; and the East India Company has adopted the results of investigations, which shewed where in India we can, and where we cannot obtain suitable cotton. We have now at least some definite

objects before us; and the purpose of these papers will be to inquire what are the obstacles which impede the realisation of those objects, and which give so tardy a march to Indian improvements in general. The following brief summary of those obstacles, as we view them, may assist our readers in estimating the relevancy and importance of the details we shall have to discuss; for a previous distinct enunciation of each of them seems requisite for bringing out the force of the facts by which their complicated and entangled effects are exhibited.

We conceive then that the facts remediable by England, which principally hinder the progress of India, are as follows:—

1. A tendency and attempt to govern all India minutely from one centre; a tendency and attempt which, although forced on the British Government by the circumstances of its position, and within due limits highly advantageous to all India, is attended with serious difficulties, and endangers the failure of the Government even in some of its own proper and intransferable duties; while the principle on which it proceeds is wholly inapplicable to industrial undertakings, except to their eventual ruin.

2. A tendency in many Indian officers to incorrect generalisation for all India from local facts, unavoidably induced by their position; officers by whom the Indian Government, according to its routine, must officially consent to be guided if it act at all, and by whom, through this tendency, it is in perpetual danger of being misled and disappointed.

3. A peculiar principle in Indian finance, inherited with the empire from its former rulers, and deeply rooted in the habits of the people, through which it is difficult, if not very dangerous, for the Indian Government either to take on itself the risk of new enterprises, or to guarantee the risk of them to others.

4. A tendency to place in the hands of a Government so situated, the supreme control of operations essential to the industrial elevation of India;—operations foreign to the duties and obligations of any Government, and beyond the power of this particular Government to direct, stimulate, or render effective;—a tendency certain to issue hereafter as it has already issued in perplexing, thwarting, and delaying these vital undertakings.

5. A mistaken view of the land-tax of India, through which, while doctrines are admitted subversive of the future liberties of India, duties are now attributed to the Government which really do not devolve on it, and which it is in no condition to fulfil.

6. The absence of laws in India which may facilitate the undertaking of territorial works by private or joint-stock capital, and may define the rights of the different parties concerned in their construction, management, and use.

7. Erroneous conceptions in England of the state of the whole question, through which the classes alone able to rid the subject of its practical difficulties, stand aloof from all effort beyond that of blaming the helpless Government.

Probably we cannot discuss these facts and their consequences better than by a review of the books and documents which have most recently thrown light on the condition and movement of India. For this purpose we will take Colonel Cotton's recent book on "The Public Works of Madras,"—the "Reports addressed to the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester, Liverpool, Blackburn, and Glasgow, by their Commissioner, the late Alexander Mackay, Esq.,"—the Parliamentary Papers on Indian Railways,—and the book of the late Sir Charles Napier, entitled, "Defects, Civil and Military, of the Indian Government." To these may be added facts from other sources, including some relating to the history of Indian Railways not yet made generally available for public information.

The facts to be discussed force on us the conviction that it is in vain to expect a complete remedy for the ills admitted on all hands to exist, except in the entire and final severance of the public works of India from its Government, as matters under their control in the view of profit. We shall think it necessary to point out the true relation of Government to those works, the very serious connection of those works with the interests of Great

A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

AGAIN last night was exemplified one of those anomalies of our humorous constitution which perpetually present themselves every session—the House of Lords and the House of Commons debating the same subject at the same time, and two or three Ministers, in different places, giving different shades of the Cabinet version of the same question. Sir John Walsh and Mr. French ask on a Friday, in the Commons, the identical question (about the transport of cavalry) which a colonel, the Earl of Cardigan, puts on a Thursday, in the Lords; and, in the same dreary way, a Lord Beaumont, a very promising young man in the sense that his voice is always breaking, went last night over the whole ground, on foreign policy, previously

* Cotton and Commerce of India. By J. Chapman. Chap. v.

† Report of the Bombay Cotton Committee of 1847, printed as Parl. pap., No. 712, of 1847.

gone over by Mr. Layard and Mr. Disraeli—these, again, having a few nights before been anticipated by Lord Clanricarde “in another place.” It is not very sagacious in the Commons to persist in twaddling impotently about the war, to which they have assented, and for which they have liberally declared, because they cannot help it, that they will vote the required forces, but as to which the Ministers have intimated that they will tell the House nothing,—of its present character or ultimate purpose,—such an intimation being evidence that England has no hold of England in the struggle now being entered into. But it is simply silly in the Lords to go on grinding about the negotiations and the war; for the House of Lords has nothing to do with the war, having nothing to do with voting the supplies, which, of course, is a great privilege possessed by the People's House. Why, then, do the House of Lords so pertinaciously debate the matter? The interest, national and Parliamentary, of the whole affair was over when Lord John concluded his declaration of war on the night of yesterday week:—Mr. Disraeli totally failed to re-arouse the interest: Lord Palmerston made a supererogatory appeal to a well-ascertained enthusiasm: the Government has got *carte blanche*. But the Lords have nothing to do, and they will talk from five to seven, from the hour when their constitutional rides are over to the hour when their dinner parties begin; and the Beaumonts, if they but get practice in this reported debating society, are careless as to what they may suggest of the inutility of the Chamber to “affairs.” We all recognise the function of the House of Lords: it is to provide that “representation of the minority” which Lord John Russell pedagogically attempts in his Reform Bill by a third member, who will get up a “triangular duel” in every county or borough he may happen to be inflicted on. But if we are to enjoy the great advantages of a double senate, should there not be an arrangement for such a division of talk as would preclude them overlaying one another, as last night?

There is the more reason that the Lords should be careful in choosing their opportunities for display, that, when the opportunity is badly chosen, there is no audience, as last night, when at the moment Lord Fitzwilliam was declaring, with public-house Britishism, that England could combat the world in arms, there were only nineteen peers present,—the Lord Chancellor, asleep, included. It will be admitted that, under the circumstances, so thin an audience was a somewhat funny spectacle.

Sir James Graham's phrase about (pottering over blue-books) has been a very unfortunate one for him: for it has offended the constitutional, national theory which absurdly ascribes to the Parliament some influence over the Government, and some control over a question of war; and, accordingly, Sir James's rash common sense in advising a Parliament not to debate, if it could not act, has thrown that right honourable man very seriously back in his preparations to succeed Lord Aberdeen in Court and country. On the night of his infelicitous counsel he sank, and Lord John, who took the opposite tone, rose in public estimation: for Lord John was national, and Sir James, who is famous for vigorous indiscretions, was only rational. Accordingly, “pottering” over blue-books is the order of the day: all the talk being altogether resultless. Mr. Disraeli talked on Monday for three weary hours of extracts from comments on the blue-books; ending with the magnanimous notification that, notwithstanding that the Government was either idiotic or scoundrel,—he left it the alternative,—he would make no opposition to their continuing their policy of either stupidity or villany. Well, this wasn't dignified: and, as the House of Commons is always in too much of a hurry to care for mere speech-making, Mr. Disraeli was generally voted a bore. And what is still more remarkable is, that Mr. Disraeli was a bore. Of course he made out a crushing case against Lord Clarendon: it would be surprising, if with all the advantages of private information which is always well supplied to such a man, so placed, not only by foreign embassies who have grudges, but by the Colonel Roses, who have spite, he could not satisfactorily make out that Lord Clarendon had very little business out of

a cigar-shop doing a moderate business. But, then, nobody ever attempted to affirm that Lord Clarendon was a sage,—not even Lord Clarendon himself: and the Government has accepted, as something creditable to it, the charge of credulity. Sir James Graham is proud of his “generous mind, slow to suspect.” Lord Palmerston is not ashamed, that after considerable experience, he has only just found that Russian agents occasionally exhaust “every modification of untruth;” and Mr. Disraeli, therefore, laboured at the unnecessary generalisations of charges which were admitted in detail. Mr. Disraeli's was, in short, a bad speech; and it did not tell on the House,—it unmistakably bored the House,—and it was too long to be read by the “country.” Mr. Disraeli, in fact, was not up to the occasion. His business this session, if he have any business, is to re-create a party, which implies the discovery of a policy; and Mr. Disraeli is presenting himself merely as a smart critic. In the European position on this Eastern question the great English Tory party is nowhere; of no influence; and the reason would appear to be that the Tory party is lost in an examination of Lord Clarendon's feebleness, and does not dictate at all what should be the direction of Admirals Dundas's and Napier's force. The Tory party has no policy at home or abroad; and hence the illogicality of Mr. Disraeli's complacency in the perorating comparisons, on Monday, between himself and certain great Whigs in the roll of Opposition leaders at the opening of the war.

But it isn't the Tories whose futility has the tendency to give a Government too strong—as Sir James Graham's insolence suggests—too chaste a *carte blanche*. The Tories at least criticise, if they do not propound a policy; but the Radicals only cheer! Mr. Hume, on Wednesday, made a speech of which I predict that it will be historically disastrous. Mr. Hume came down to the House at noon with all the solemn preparation of a great man when he is about to give a great vote. Mr. Hume got up with solemnity and spoke with solemnity, and was cheered by the thin House of early risers with solemnity. Mr. Hume approved of the “negotiations” of the Government on the Eastern question; Mr. Hume condemned the attacks on Lord Aberdeen, who happens to be the first Scotch Premier Mr. Hume has ever known, and, oddly enough, the first Premier Mr. Hume has ever supported; and, in conclusion, Mr. Hume declared that he would offer no opposition to the Government doing what they liked, as to supplies, in the war. Observe that the Government has admitted that it has been credulous in believing Russians, whom Lord Palmerston at least, with suspicious vehemence, denounces as liars; and that the Government allows of the argument that had their foreign policy been conducted with a knowledge, which they should have possessed, that the Czar is a liar and a butcher (these are not my phrases), they might have prevented a war. And observe, further, that the Government has not admitted to the supplying Parliament what is to be done with the money, and has not intimated to a self-governed people what are the ultimate objects of the war. Yet Mr. Hume takes his place on the Treasury bench as *amicus curiæ*! Now, Mr. Hume is a great man, with a character, well earned in glorious services, for considerable political acuteness and extraordinary political honesty. And, at such a moment, when the country is apathetic, and when there is a large class of loosely-elected Liberals eager to do anything to keep off a dissolution, and get behind Hayter without compromising themselves, Mr. Hume is leader of the Radical party. Mr. Hume, then, on Wednesday, handed over the Radical party to the Ministry. It is the honestest, most national, and most capable Ministry which has ever held power in England: but it is, nevertheless, odd to see the Radical party clinging to any Ministry as partisans, and the Radical party are becoming partisans. They cheered Mr. Hume on Wednesday; and simultaneously the Treasury benches took off their hats to Mr. Hume; and simultaneously that amiable but amicable bard, Mr. Milnes, complimented “our veteran friend” on his wise and patriotic speech. The scene was very significant: and the Radical party will remember it.

The Radical party is just now being false to its policy, and to its principles in every way. If the Fox and Grey Liberals had been offered, by Pitt or Jenkinson, a Schedule A and a Chandos clause as a condition of their approving of war with Bonaparte, they would not have accepted the bribe: but Mr. Hume is bribed by a Schedule A and a Minority Representation clause to set all the Radicals wrong. Just as he grabbed at the Chandos clause, he is rushing at the Minority Representation clause; and still there are politicians who would follow Mr. Hume! What an era for England opens, as a long war begins under the auspices of a Coalition Government, which includes the Opposition, and with no Mr. Hume to suggest economy,—with no Liberals to ask what we are at war for! The Radical party is attempting to get up a fallacious enthusiasm for a Bill in which they do not believe, and which the country does not care about, and because they get that bill, they are assenting to the worst form of secret diplomacy—secret diplomacy in time of war: i. e., altogether abnegating whatever chance they have by their watchfulness of procuring for us self-government. The fact would seem to be that the Radicals, who do not identify themselves with Mr. Hume, are afraid of being mistaken for adherents of Mr. Cobden, at this moment a very unpopular man:—they see no option between applauding the war and opposing the war. The result will be that an English Government will fight as the ally of the hero of the *coup d'état* to suppress European liberalism; and they will be successful, because the Radical members of the English House of Commons have consented to lay down their functions in order to get a Reform Bill which would really increase, in that House, the territorial and middle-class strength, and which would, therefore, render the House of Commons less Radical than ever.

That might be an advantage; but it is not ostensibly what the enlightened Radicals and their surprising newspapers are aiming at; and such a policy accordingly perplexes impartial observers. Speaking generally, there is nothing less clear than the Radical policy. They are treating the war as quite a subordinate affair, which Prince Albert and Sir James Graham may be left to look after; and they are intent on presenting that “proud spectacle” to the world, of which innocent French journals, who know nothing about the election committees, speak so exultingly—the spectacle of an enlightened Parliament looking after “internal reforms,” while Europe is in convulsions. They are not content merely with a Reform Bill, which they advocate because it would return a House of Commons to check aristocratic Governments!—say on, foreign policy!—but they are for going on with all the other routine panaceas. There's education; of course they won't drop education; and hence two debates this week, one on the ignorance of Manchester, the other on the ignorance of Scotland; the enlightened House shirking both propositions, because they are so anxious there should be no education imparted to children apart from the inculcation of that Christianity which, after about 1800 years of work, is so very manifest in the doings of European States at the present moment. And the Radicals will air all their other hobbies in succession: they are only waiting till “after Easter;” and thus, whatever goes on on the Danube, in the Black Sea, or in the Baltic, or whatever English money and alliance may be doing to keep down struggling nationalities, simply attempting to turn a crisis to account in their movement towards that constitutional liberty which is our blessing, and which we so very much wish to see extended to the men and brothers of our common Christianity, &c. We shall have as busy a session as any other session: the Government, with Radical assistance, will derive a great advantage from keeping the people amused. If the Tories were acute they would apply the same reasoning to “Education” and analogous propositions which they apply to the proffer of a Reform Bill, and insist that “at this period,” &c., it is inexpedient to go on with any one of that long list of ameliorations which turns up in every session, and which so singularly illustrates our faith that we are frightfully civilised already. In that way the Tories might fix attention on the war; and so, in time, the Radicals might begin to comprehend what the Coalition Government is doing with England in Europe.

Saturday Morning.

A STRANGER.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

It is easy to scotch the snake Credulity, but difficult to kill it. Like the common puff-ball, a breath will scatter it, but its seeds are borne on the wind to be deposited wherever they can find a *nidus*, which is certain to be found in any mass of men. Spirit Rapping has been exposed, Table Turning has been explained; but what avails? Credulity can always find victims. The disease breaks out in fresh places. It has left London, or nearly so; but in the provinces it is vigorous. Clear-sighted clergymen detect Satan's presence in it. In France, Abbés and Archbishops vouch for the satanic presence.

The share we have had in exposing the ignoble charlataneries of Spirit Rapping and Table Talking might, one would have thought, have kept us away from any more exhibitions of the kind. But a gentleman—earnestly convinced of the truth—persuaded us "to give the thing another trial." In a moment of imbecile candour we consented. Our reason was this: It is just possible that, although impostors delude people with pretended spirit rappings, there may be phenomena of a subjective kind—a mania—developed by honest inquirers and worthy of investigation. Accordingly, having been assured that it was no *paid* Medium we were to visit, and that the old trick of the Alphabet would not be resorted to, we attended a *séance*. We shall not describe that *séance*; but the reader will like to know the result. The Medium was a "writing Medium;" and the communications were given through this Medium, who wrote the vaguest nonsense, especially directed at ourselves: the spirits thinking it "of immense benefit to mankind" that we should be convinced; which, if true, they might very easily have effected by telling the truth, not fictions, by talking sense and grammar, instead of nonsense and hideous English. The communication of a direct kind between us and the spirits was through the table which tilted its answers. Now all of those answers were simply falsehoods and absurdities; they were distinct replies, affirmative and negative, to questions which were pure fictions. We asked a wife whose husband had never written a book in his life, whether that (fictitious) book was on its way from India—whether it would be offered to Mr. BENTLEY—whether it would have illustrations, &c., to all of which distinct replies! We then called up the spirit of WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, who informed us—twice—that he *did* write the celebrated review of a certain treatise in the *Quarterly*!

Last week we referred to a letter written by GEORGE SAND to a M. DE MIRACOURT, who has published a biography made up of the random assertions and rapid inferences which are usually current about celebrated persons. He never once troubled himself to seek information from her or her friends! In a letter of exquisite courtesy she replies to that biography, declaring that it does not contain one accurate fact, "not even my name, not even my age. I am not named Marie, and I was not born in 1805, but in 1804. My grandmother was never at *l'Abbaye aux Bois*. My father was not a colonel. My grandmother was far from placing *Le Contrat Social* above the Gospel. At fifteen, I neither handled a gun nor mounted a horse. I was in a convent.

"My husband was neither old nor bald. He was twenty-seven, and had a fine head of hair. I never inspired the most insignificant of Bordeaux shipbrokers with 'a passion.' The 'twentieth chapter of a celebrated romance' is a chapter of romance and nothing else. It is truly an easy thing to construct the life of a writer out of chapters of his novels; but you must suppose him to be very simple or very clumsy to imagine that, if he alludes in his books to his own emotions and experience, he is unable to surround them with characters and circumstances so fictitious as to throw the reader off the true scent."

After some other rectifications, which we omit because they would scarcely be intelligible to English readers, she adds: "After the success of *Indiana* I had no *salon* and parties; for five or six years I lived in the same attic (*mansarde*), and saw there the same intimate friends. But I come to the first of the 'facts,' which I desire to rectify, caring very little about the others. You say—'In the intoxication of success she committed the fault of forgetting the faithful companion of her obscurity. SANDEAU, wounded to the heart, went away to Italy alone, on foot, penniless.' M. JULES SANDEAU never went to Italy on foot and penniless. Although you seem to insinuate that if he was without money it was my fault, which is supposing that he having quarrelled with me would have accepted money from me (a supposition too injurious for you to have made willingly); allow me to assure you, what he will confirm, that he had resources of his own. Moreover, he did not go away wounded to the heart. I have from him letters, as honourable to him as to me, which prove the contrary; letters I have no need to publish, knowing that he speaks of me with the esteem and affection which he owes me.

"I will not here defend M. DE MUSSET from your offensive accusations. He is capable of defending himself, and at present I am alone in question.

Therefore I content myself with saying that as I never confided to any one what you believe you know respecting his conduct towards me, you have been led into error by some one who invented those facts. You say that after the journey to Italy I never saw M. DE MUSSET again. You are mistaken, I have seen him very often, and never seen him without friendly greeting. I am proud to say that I have never nourished a feeling of bitterness against any one, nor have I ever left any such feeling—durable and well founded—not even in M. DUDEVANT, my husband."

Of LAMENNAIS she says M. MIRACOURT's account is altogether false in spirit and in details. Her veneration for that great man is and always has been unlimited. "I pass by a number of errors without importance, with a smile, and arrive at this phrase—'She shut her ears when he (alluding to PIERRE LEROUX) talked of too direct an application of the system.' This is not meant to be a calumny, I am sure; but it is a gratuitous absurdity, which you attribute to a man not less eminent and respectable than M. DE LAMENNAIS. Could you not find two victims less sacred than an old man on the brink of the grave, and a noble philosopher in exile? I am certain that on reflection you will regret having yielded to that ironical tendency which is the quality, the fault, and the misfortune of Young France."

"In conclusion my modesty forces me to say that I do not improvise quite so well as Liszt, my friend, but not my master. He never gave me lessons, and I cannot improvise at all."

We have thus extracted from a long letter every detail which could interest and be intelligible to our readers. "Comment," as writers say, when at a loss, "would be superfluous."

A curious discovery has recently been brought before the world, in the shape of an unpublished treatise by LEIBNITZ in refutation of SPINOZA. The discoverer, M. FOUCHÉ DE CAREIL, during his researches in the Hanoverian Library, alighted upon a Latin manuscript entirely written in the hand of LEIBNITZ; and from this Latin version he has published one in French under the title *Réfutation inédite de Spinoza par Leibnitz*. We have not seen the volume, but hope that the original text accompanies the translation, as a guarantee. Our readers shall be duly informed of the nature of this work, as soon as we have inspected it.

DANTE AND HIS TRANSLATORS.

The Divine Comedy of Dante. Rendered into English. By Frederick Pollock. With Fifty Illustrations drawn by George Scharf, jun. Price 20s. Chapman and Hall.

THERE is no better vehicle for satire, invective, and episodic interest than an imaginary voyage. All the incidents of life may be brought together with probability, and yet each subject may be selected according to the whims or needs of the writer. We cannot wonder that in all times men have availed themselves of this form, and availed themselves of it with success. A goodly list might be made of the Imaginary Travellers.

There is Lucian, for example, with his *True History* ἀληθὴς ἱστορία so called from its fecundity of lies. Noting the credulity of men and their appetite for marvellous narratives, he gravely furnishes them with food. He tells us that he set forth, impelled by a desire to experience new things and learn what kind of men inhabited the distant shores beyond the ocean.

For my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset and the baths
Of all the western stars.

A storm arises. He is thrown upon a strange coast: the domain of Wonder is entered, and he revels there. He sees rivers of wine; animals half horse, half vulture; trees, from the waist upwards, women; fleas like elephants; a whale, within whose stomach forests and cities flourished; seas of milk, and in it a cheese island!

Then there is the veridical voyage of Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, of Rotherhithe; once the delight of all Britain, now the imperishable marvel book for boys, who read it innocent of its savage misanthropy, the hideous grin of a demon looking on humanity with alternate envy and alternate scorn. One remark we are tempted digressively to place here on this extraordinary book. Its finest invention is confessedly the voyage to Lilliput. The satire is not so bitter. The humour is more genial and genuine. The voyage to Brobdingnag is in conception only the same idea reversed: in Brobdingnag, Mr. Gulliver is a Lilliputian. Now, although the treatment of this conception belongs to Swift, we must in all justice point out that he has probably no claim to the merit of conception, which is due to an Italian—Martelli—a writer of whom we can find no account in Ginguéné (*Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*) nor in Salfi (*Saggio della commedia Italiana*), but who is mentioned by Goldoni, as the author of six volumes of dramatic compositions from tragedy to marionette farces. One of these latter—the *Bambocciata*, or sneezing of Hercules—is analysed by Goldoni, from whom we borrow the following description:—

Hercules is in the land of the Pigmies. These little creatures, alarmed at the sight of what appears a living mountain, hide themselves in caves. One day, as Hercules is sleeping in the open field, the Pigmy venture from their hiding-places, and armed with boughs and thorns, mount this sleeping monster, and cover him from head to foot, like flies covering a piece of raw meat. Hercules awakes, and feeling something tickling his nose, sneezes. His enemies are routed, and fall precipitously from his sides; and thus the piece ends. In this piece the style and the sentiments are all proportioned to the size of the actors; the very verses are short: the verses of Pigmy!

Here we have obviously the leading idea of Lilliput, and the effect Mr. Gulliver created there; the incident also of both giants sleeping in the open air and being then approached by their enemies, is the same. The subsequent incidents differ; but the original idea—the kernel of the whole—is certainly the same. It becomes therefore a question as to whether Swift

was likely to have seen Martelli's works, or even heard of them. As no one, that we are aware, has ever noticed the coincidence of plan in the two works, no researches have been made to clear up the point. Yet it is a point in literary history not without its interest. Swift was a notorious poacher, a most large-handed thief; and it would be curious to prove that he borrowed the idea of Lilliput from Martelli, as in that case we should be able to assign the originals of all the voyages of Gulliver. The voyages to Brobdingnag and Laputa are notoriously borrowed from Cyrano Bergerac's *Histoire Comique des Etats et Empires de la Lune*, and his *Estats et Empires du Soleil*. In these it is not simply an idea borrowed and humorously worked out, as in the case of Lilliput; the idea and execution are both borrowed. The incidents are very similar and selected to illustrate similar follies. The general turn of wit and humour is the same. A brief, but satisfactory, account of Cyrano's works is given in Dunlop's *History of Fiction*.

To return, however, to our imaginary travellers, we next meet with Fielding, who has given us a *Journey from this World to the Next*. It is not one of his best works; but some of the satire is very happy. The earlier portions, which are imitations of Lucian's dialogues of the Gods, are somewhat forced, and towards the conclusion the writing gets wearisome. The most amusing portion is the adventures of Julian the apostate. Fielding places Cromwell in Elysium, and as he is as arbitrary as Dante in his distribution of rewards and punishments, we were somewhat curious to know his motive for giving Cromwell such a place. It was this: Cromwell's soul, in its second experience of life, had inhabited the body of a staunch cavalier and loyal subject!

We now come to the prince of imaginary travellers and wits—Voltaire. His *Candide* and *Micromegas* are perfect bits of satire: wicked but witty; cutting deep, but with a polished blade: admirable in invention as in style. Wordsworth, indeed, who loved a paradox, and ran against the universal opinions of mankind with stolid seriousness, has pronounced *Candide* to be "the dull product of a scoffer's pen." Scoffer, as much as you like; but dull! was there no word in the dictionary more apt than that? was a philosophical poem so serious that it could see nothing in *Candide* but dullness?

Rambling thus amid the works of Imaginary Travellers we come upon Cervantes and his *Viage al Parnasso*, in which he narrates his journey to Parnassus, at the foot of which many curious animals are seen; old and young, grave and gay, genius and dullness there congregate, carrying with them weighty volumes and colossal pretensions. It is thither Cervantes determines to go. He is travelling, not in the best condition, when Mercury appears to him, and accosting him with the title of "Adam of Poets," proceeds to bestow some very flattering eulogiums on him. By the way, what could Cervantes mean when he gave himself that title? He certainly did not mean to intimate that he was the primeval poet—the Adam of Parnassus. Did he then by this assumed priority mean to infer priority of merit? The supposition is probable; for the soldier who fought at Lepanto was not wanting in self-confidence nor in over self-confidence. But let that pass. Mercury conducts him to the kingdom of Apollo, in a ship which carries all the poets of Spain. The ship was of "verses all compact."

Toda de versos era fabricada
Sin que entremetiera alguna prosa.

The passengers, in numbers countless as drops of rain, or as the sands of the sea, scramble on board. The ship must sink. Kind and pitying sirens raise a storm to save the ship from sinking beneath the weight of its cargo. But there is another storm described with still more gusto, in which Neptune endeavours to plunge the poetasters down to the bottom of the sea. Vain attempt! as if the specific levity of such a race could be overcome! as if it could be made weighty by any grains of sense! Venus, sharp-witted dame, changes them into empty gourds and leather bottles; proper emblems for those who have only the worthless carcase without a drop of divine nectar.

We now come to Dante and his Imaginary Voyage, which transcends all others so far as to make our naming it among them doubtless a matter of surprise to the reader; yet an imaginary voyage it is, though by no means a jocos one. Swift himself had not more decided purpose in his fiction. That Dante's invective against political enemies now seems to us of little importance is true; we read the *Divine Comedy* for its genius, not for its personalities, and, as long as poetry is read, this poem will stand eminent among the greatest works of genius. Of course it has tempted, and will tempt, translators; and if translation were not essentially "a vain thing," we know of few works which would better bear translation than this. But our opinions on that point the reader knows; and in taking up Mr. Pollock's version, we do so merely to say in how far we conceive the author has approximated to what can be justly demanded of a translator.

First, let us say of his volume that it is very elegant, and fit to grace the most delicate of drawing-room tables. The illustrations by Mr. Scharf add to its beauty, although we cannot think the imaginative representations will meet with the approbation of poetical readers. The translation has been executed upon a sound theory, that, namely, of adhering as closely to the original, even in mere verbal arrangement, as the idioms of the two languages admit. Mr. Pollock has done his best to give us what Dante wrote, not what he "might have written had he lived in our day." He adds no "beauties" of his own to Dante's verse; unlike the majority of translators, he does not believe he can "improve" a great poet. For this, for great care and conscientiousness in a laborious and ungrateful task, he deserves our praise. If we are forced to add that his translation is more useful to those who can only read a little Italian, and would be glad of his aid in lieu of dictionary or master, than it will be delightful to those who read only for poetical enjoyment, it is because in truth a translator must almost have the genius of his author if he would hope to succeed in the delicate and subtle rendering of poetic language. Mr. Pollock has not the delicate sense of expression which could alone make translation adequate. Take a specimen or two as evidence:—

As I was sinking towards the lower place,
Presented to me was before mine eyes
One who appeared as by long silence dumb.

No poet could have written that. Dante's lines are:—

Mentre ch'io rovinava in basso loco
Dinanzi agli occhi mi si fu offerto
Chi per lungo silenzio parea fioco.

Without laying any stress upon the inaccuracy of translating *rovinava* by "sinking"—a verbal, as well as a poetic inaccuracy, the poet at that moment describing himself as rushing away from the she-wolf—let us simply direct attention to the awkward involutions and the inharmoniousness of each line. Mr. Pollock uses phrases like "as does the sand, what time a whirlwind blows;" and when Dante "falls as a dead body falls," Mr. Pollock says, "Even as a dead corpse falls, I fell." We might multiply examples of such important minutiae. They only prove that mere labour will not suffice in translation. In conclusion, we cite one of the easy poetical passages:—

"Then, as the flowers by the cold of night
Depressed and closed, when silvered by the sun
Become erect, all open on their stem;
Such was I in my valour that had drooped,
And such good courage rushed into my heart
That I began as one emancipated."

"Quale i fioretti dal notturno gelo
Chinati e chiusi, poi che il Sol gl' imbianca
Si drizan tutti aperti in loro stelo
Tal mi fec' io, di mia virtute stanca:
E tanto buono ardire al cuor mi corse
Ch' io cominciassi come persona franca."

The reader will feel that "depressed" is not a happy word for "bowed down," and that the sun does not *silver* the flowers, but, as Dante says, *whitens* them with light. "Become erect" is tame; and the three last lines prosaic.

Our conclusion then is, that Mr. Pollock, while giving us a laborious, and on the whole meritorious, translation of Dante, has not perfectly satisfied the exigencies of criticism, even when that criticism starts from the proposition that no translation can adequately represent a real poem. The praise of having produced a very useful book may be given. The poem is still only to be read in Italian.

THE SLAVE SON.

The Slave Son. By Mrs. William Noy Wilkins. Price 6s.

Chapman and Hall.

THE Scotch proverb says, "There are many things in the world, o'er bad for blessing and o'er gude for banning, like Rob Roy." If this truth did not apply to the world of literature, the reviewer's task would be an easier one than it is. On the present occasion, for instance, we might say *The Slave Son* is a book we can confidently recommend to our readers; it is written with a noble, benevolent purpose, by a planter's daughter, who has direct, first-hand knowledge of the subject she treats, and a natural fluency in the expression of her opinions and feelings. We might say this; we might also say *The Slave Son* is a disjointed story on the evils of negro slavery, in which, from certain defects in the story-teller, *le vrai* is seldom *vraisemblable*; and the characters which should be most distinct and life-like are either misty or exaggerated. On account of this Rob-Royal mixture of good and bad in the book before us, we have given it more consideration than its decided demerits, as a work of Art, would have induced us to bestow. We have allowed the disinterested purpose and positive experience of the authoress to weigh against the fact, that her tale will make people more weary and disgusted with reading about negro slavery than eager to rise up in arms or council against this loud-crying evil of the age. *The Slave Son* cannot be compared with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as regards originality and vigour, humour and truth of character. The Abolitionist and evangelical principles sanctify *Uncle Tom* with the majority of Mrs. Stowe's readers, but without them the book would have become popular—for it is full of genius—and *humour*—a quality which female writers generally want.

When Mrs. Wilkins speaks of matters of fact, or of her own personal feelings, she speaks well and with the authority of truth. In accounting for the production of the present tale, which is to be the first of a series on the condition of the coloured population of the West Indies and Southern States of America, she says:—

"I did not start in life, however, with any particular sympathy for the negroes. There were no scenes of cruelty or oppression in our homestead to awaken my pity,—far otherwise; and while our domestics presented all those features of an enslaved people so repulsive to the free, I learned from the first to regard them, as the children of all slaveholders do, in the light of a species of cattle,—I do not mean because they were bought and sold, and their labour unrewarded, I mean something worse still,—I mean that neither their total dismissal of all the proprieties and decencies of life, nor their immorality, ever shocked my principles or affected my mind any more than the habits of the beasts of burden working with them; and yet the negroes were always with us and about us, so also were the domestic animals belonging to the house. I record these facts the more willingly, as it may help to show the nature and extent of the influence which slavery holds over man."

"But the mixed race, the coloured population, early enlisted my sympathy: first of all, through their innate abhorrence of slavery and constant struggle after freedom; and then, when free, through their constant, yet vain and impotent upheaving against the social weight which keeps them down as Pariahs. I speak of the prejudice of caste. None but those who have lived in slave countries are aware of the cruel extent to which this prejudice is carried. I saw them longing for education where no school would admit them,—yearning after excellence where no right to excel was allowed them,—at the same time ready to kiss the feet of those who only made a show of teaching them on friendly terms, and never stopping to inquire whether this passing condescension was not for the sake of the money which they freely and generously gave. The devotion and gratitude of these poor creatures was too touching ever to forget; but a circumstance arose which fixed their wrongs indelibly in my mind."

She adds further on—

"I present myself, however, not so much to take rank among the champions of civil emancipation (for they are numerous enough already), as to invite supporters for its completion in the social advancement of the coloured race; for slavery can never be said to be abolished where prejudice of caste keeps the people degraded. It is a blight that remains when the sunbeam has passed, quite as deadly and as poisonous, and at this day holds influence as fully and forcibly in the free northern states of America as in the south. I need only refer to the circumstance of Douglas being horsewhipped for walking between two white ladies to prove this."

"Nay, in the British Colonies, where eighteen years ago one-half of the population was beggared to emancipate the other, prejudice against the emancipated race influences even the local authorities, just as much as at the period of our story."

"It was an easy matter for statesmen at the head of Government in England to pass, for their political and commercial ends, an Act for favouring a distant people who never came across their feelings either to annoy or perplex; but how comes it they have never directed their appointed governors to open the colonial offices and departments to the deserving and the capable among the coloured race? How comes it they have never given encouragement to place them on an equal footing with the white? Have they never once thought of doing this? It is really poor justice,—a mere mockery of a great deed, more boastful than real.

"But it is different with the American statesmen. They are surrounded with coloured people in every relation of life, and they have to wrest from the very growth of their minds a prejudice of no common force, before they can give that heartfelt, earnest labour to emancipation which can alone obtain success. None can tell but those who have lived in slave countries what a hold it takes of the mind, and how far and wide its influence spreads throughout all the feelings and actions of life, till it forms part and parcel of one's very nature, like the creed we have learnt from our mothers; and often, when boasting of having risen superior to it, we find ourselves suddenly as much under its sway as ever.

"This happened to myself. I had been already a few years in England, still full of my subject,—talking of it by day, dreaming of it by night,—when I went with some friends to a party. I had not been long seated when I saw entering the room a young man of colour. It was the first time in my life that I had seen a person of colour enter a room on equal terms as myself; and my surprise and discomfort were by no means diminished when the daughter of our hostess introduced him to me as partner for the next quadrille. If the footman had presented himself for that purpose I could not have been more startled, and had I met this gentleman of colour at Court it could not have saved him from the feeling of aversion and contempt with which I instinctively regarded him. This, no doubt, was very absurd, as the hue of his complexion was the only circumstance against him; but it illustrates the force of a prejudice which interferes with the social welfare of a whole race."

The scene of *The Slave Son* is the Island of Trinidad; one of the most beautiful and fertile of the English West Indies. The story begins with a short history of the island, which would have been the better for a few dates. From this account the reader learns the superior condition of all the inhabitants (including the slaves and the free-coloured population) under the Spanish rule; and, if he have a tolerable faculty of prevision, he will believe that a future is opening for Trinidad, under British governance, that will surpass the prosperity of that Spanish golden age. The rich tropical scenery—the warm sun—the balmy air—the glorious vegetation, and the flashing starlight—are seen and felt throughout the book. It is humanity that is faint and unlikable; from "the Slave Son" himself down to the bestial Obiah priest, Fauty. The only exceptions we should make to this condemnation are Laurine, the mulatto girl, and Quaco, the young negro. Mr. Cardon may be true to planter-humanity, but it is difficult to believe that anyone born and educated in the rank of a gentleman, and endowed, as he is said to be endowed, with many many virtues, could behave as he does in the scene where the dying Anamoa is flogged with his daughter Talima. It is more disgusting and abominable than anything of the kind on Legree's estate in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and a great deal more improbable, since Legree is not represented as a respectable member of society, and Mr. Cardon is. He knows very well how to carry the war against the English Abolitionists into their own camp; and as wise people may always learn wholesome truths from their enemies, we will set down one of his attacks here, especially as it is one of the best pieces of invective in the book. Mr. Cardon, the gentlemanly planter, is conversing with Mr. Dorset, the model good Englishman of the book, who plays the part of a confidant in classical French tragedy, and never interferes with the action:—

"Prejudice of caste?—*parbleu!* they have none,—oh no! And pray what is that stand-off reserve which keeps so effectual a barrier between the moneyed man and the pauper,—the noble and the trader,—the master and the servant? Why you know right well that you would rather die than shake hands before company with the footman who waits at your table, though he may have saved your life in the morning."

"Sir! Mr. Cardon!"

"Bah! I am not speaking personally, I tell you; I only say *you*, because I have no one else to say it to; you stand for the English nation, and you must listen to me. How do you treat your servants? Why, as if they had been created merely for your convenience and pleasure. You give them wages scarcely adequate to provide them with the decent clothing you require them to appear in. You take the health and strength of their youth; and how do you reward them in their old age? Do you pension them and support them, as we do our old negroes? No! you leave them to rot. What feeds the abominations of the English streets at night. Servants out of place, sempstresses, and others who have no future before them. Who prey upon them? Why, I tell you the most licentious estate of the most licentious planter never presented one-hundredth of the nightly horrors of your Babylon. Oh no! there is no slave-hunting, nor slave-dealing, nor slave-buying, nor slave-murdering in dear moral England! and that among not these half brute baboons, but just among God's loveliest creatures—women, sent among us to lead us to heaven. Pray where are your saints, your excessively virtuous saints, that they suffer these things to be?"

"Mr. Dorset laid his hand upon his arm to stop him, but it would not do, the planter's ire was up."

"Moral England!" continued he, "*pardienne!* Yes, the saints! they sent a ranting set of Methodist preachers down here: I kicked them off the estate, every one of them,—the murder-preaching set!"

"Oh! oh!"

"You may say 'oh!' but it is so. The boasted Christian spirit of the Protestant form! that is laughable too. In our Church, at least once a week the master and the slave kneel on a perfect equality before our God. Our priests are bound to ignore any difference between them, and they do so. How is it with the Protestants—eh? I will take a bishop going to the cathedral of his diocese on a holy sabbath. Will he imitate the humility of his divine Master only just a little? Will he go on foot only for this one day? Not he! on wheels he will drive, surrounded by the poms and vanities of the very devil. And his wife and daughters, will they lay aside their silks and satins just for a few hours this one day, and join the poor in humility of garb and humility of prayer? No! behold them surrounded with rails, *à la mode* tangerie fashion, to keep them from contact with those loathsome bestialities, the poor. And the sermon, mind you, all the while runs on humility! yes, in fine, hard, grand words, which the poor are never taught to understand; but they understand the meaning of the pomp and the carriage, the silk and the satin, the rails and the stand-off looks, and they understand that humility is a Christian virtue intended only for the poor, to teach them meekly to bend their necks for the rich to set their foot upon them. Let me tell you that were I ever so much inclined to the reformed religion, I should be ashamed to bring my negroes to attend in your churches. Such devotion to poms and vanities! such lack of devotion to God! Pah! disgusting humbug!—a word invented by the English for the English, and besetting them alone: you can't translate it into French nor German, no, nor Italian nor Spanish, nor any other tongue. Cursed be the day I put faith in their proclamations and promises, and was fool enough to settle in any colony belonging to them. At all events, we planters are no humbugs. Fate has placed the whip in our hands,—a whip we call it, fearlessly and openly, and as a whip we use it. The moneyed men of England have a whip too, and use it too; but they sneak and snuffle, and put on a sanctified face and tell their victims that the blows they give are so many blessed proofs of freedom."

After such a thrashing as that from a West Indian Slave-holder, the most contented Conservative among us must feel sore and indignant; and the most candid must admit we have deserved it.

If Mrs. Wilkins will refrain from fiction in her future books on Slavery, and tell what she has seen and heard, felt and understood, without any adornments, she will produce a useful and readable book.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Laws of War, affecting Commerce and Shipping. By H. Byerby Thomson, Esq., B.A. Smith, Elder, and Co.

This is a very useful compendium of the texts or the substance of the principal texts in the judgments of Lord Stowell and the standard writers on international law, including Kant, Wheaton, Grotius, and Vattel, besides writers on special subjects, such as Arnold on Maritime Assurances, Story on Partnership, Dodson's Admiralty Reports, &c. The whole presents a review of the effect of war on the interests of shipping and commerce; an effect which is much more extensive than people generally remember it to be. In fact, every species of interest, including partnership where there is a foreign partner, contracts, even those commenced before the war, and assurances, which are rendered absolutely void for enemy's property, &c., is greatly affected. The whole is comprised within the space of 50 octavo pages, very clearly stated and printed. This slender volume ought to be in the possession of every person who has any interest, direct or indirect, in commerce and shipping.

The Works of Oliver Goldsmith. Edited by Peter Cunningham, F.S.A. Vol. II.

Minutes on the Resignation of the late General Sir Charles Napier of the Command of the Army in India. By F. M. the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Dalhousie, and General Sir Charles Napier, &c. John Murray.
The Educational Expounder. Vol. I. Longman and Co.
A Year with the Turks; or Sketches of Travel in the European and Asiatic Dominions of the Sultan. By W. W. Smyth, M.A. J. W. Parker and Son.
The French Revolution. A Poem. By Joseph Moulier. J. Bowditch.
The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon. (Bohn's British Classics.)—Dante, translated into English Verse. By J. C. Wright. (Bohn's Illustrated Library.)—Geological Excursions round the Isle of Wight. By G. A. Mantell, Esq. (Bohn's Scientific Library.)—The Carafas of Maddaloni: Naples under Spanish Dominion. (Bohn's Standard Library.) H. G. John.
Algeria: the Topography and History, Political, Social, and Natural, of French Africa. By John Reynell Morell. Nathaniel Cooke.
Quinquenergia; or Proposals for a New Practical Theology. By H. S. Sutton. John Chapman.

Day and Night Songs. By W. Allingham. G. Routledge and Co.
Reminiscences of a Retired Physician. G. Routledge and Co.
The Money-Lender. By Mrs. Gore. (The Railway Library.) G. Routledge and Co.
Eginton's Literary Railway Miscellany. E. Eginton.
Such is Life. A Poem. By R. Hausmann. Chapman and Hall.
Agnes Valmar. A Novel. 3 vols. Chapman and Hall.
A Visit to Belgrade. Translated by James Whittle. Chapman and Hall.
Prize Essay on the Laws for the Protection of Women. By J. E. Davis. Longman and Co.

Turkey; or, a History of the Origin, Progress, and Decline of the Ottoman Empire. By George Leake. T. H. Buss.
Rhymes. By George Thomas May. R. Hardwicke.
Zurlina, a Tale of Corsica. By H. Pottinger. G. Bell.
Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the Edinburgh Review by Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M.P. Part I. Longman and Co.
Adventures in the Wilds of North America. By C. Lauman. Longman and Co.
The Pentateuch; or Five Books of Moses. By the Rev. Thomas Wilson, M.A. John Chapman.

The Nature, Symptoms, and Treatment of Consumption. By Richard Bogue Cotton, M.D. J. Churchill.
Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin. By Charles Edmonds. G. Wills.

The Arts.

THE TWO RICHARDS: KEAN AND BROOKE.

If passion is the essence of tragedy, I ought to have gained experience enough from this week to last me a lifetime. In saying this I make one little supposition, viz., that tragic passion and a tragedian in a passion, are one and the same thing. *C'est une très forte supposition; mais enfin!*

For, indeed, this week I have sat out the robustious play of *Richard III.*, and listened to the robustious acting of Charles Kean and G. V. Brooke, who (having apparently made the little supposition just named), presented pictures of men in a passion unrivalled on the stage. They both flew into a passion, and that of the most furious and stentorian kind, "upon the slightest provocation," indeed without provocation at all. They roared and stamped, and stamped and roared, spluttering and perspiring with an energy "worthy of a better cause." Why they were so furious in their flinging out of certain words and lines, or so melancholy in their drawing of others, I have not the remotest idea. Why Charles Kean should roll his *rs* with so terrible an emphasis, and Brooke drop down to his *voix de ventr*, or preternatural growl, with words having in themselves no growing significance—these things belong to the subtleties of dramatic art, which I have not yet mastered, and therefore will not appreciate. But as both are actors of Shakspeare (not to be confounded with Shakspearian actors), they may remember what Hamlet says: "O, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings. I would have such fellows whipped for o'erdoing Termagant; it out-herods Herod. O, there be players that I have seen play—and heard others praise, and that highly—who have so strutted, and belloved, that I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably." As to the humanity imitated by the two *Richards*, I seriously declare that the original never met my eyes—except at Bartholomew Fair.

But let me be methodical, and touch upon details. On Monday Charles Kean produced *Richard III.* for the first time under the management of the Princess's, and he produced it with that care, study, and effective disposition of material which characterises his management. The scenery was admirable; the grouping spirited and picturesque; the dresses archaeologically elaborate and theatrically splendid. Not a word but of commendation shall be uttered respecting the whole *mise en scene*. He does understand his business as a manager, and success rewards him. But as an actor?

His performance of *Richard III.*, some seventeen years ago, stands out as one of the most hilarious of my dramatic remembrances. He seemed to me then the very worst actor, out of a barn, playing great parts; and so it seemed to cultivated people, though the gods and groundlings delighted in him. He held the same sort of position, with less claim to it, that Brooke

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